THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OP

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

January 30th, 1894 (Extra Meeting).

Prof. A. Macalister, F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Morocco Berbers.

By J. E. BUDGETT MEAKIN.

Probably no nation has played a more important, yet withal an unseen, part in the European historical drama than that very little known people the Berbers, of North Africa. A hardy race, dwelling in mountain strongholds, they have preferred their bracing hill-top breezes to all the soft allurements of the plains, and they remain there, masters. Holding intact the highlands. along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean, many a nation have they seen rise and fall, many a one has laid hold upon their coastline, but none has penetrated far their cherished home. Egyptians, Phœnicians, Grecians, Romans, and lastly, Arabians, all who have come in contact with them, have been the better for it. Powerless to conquer those warrior tribes, the strangers have each one in their turn gained from the infusion of their busy blood, and have returned from Africa with gathered force. The settlers on those fertile plains were suckled by the mountain wolf, a beast they could never tame. So years rolled by, and centuries, but the Berbers changed not. They are little to-day that they were not in the days of Jugurtha—we might almost go back to the Ptolemies—save in one most vital VOL. XXIV.

They have all embraced Islám. What every invader from the north had failed to do, one earnest hungry band of desert wanderers did. Their Arabian cousins had an influence which no outsider could obtain, and by at once assimilating with their conquered converts, reaped new life and vigour to push on the cause. Then was it that the crescent progressed, but it was not till nearly three hundred years after Mohammed had fled from Mekkah, that the Morocco Berbers had all accepted Islam. By the time that they were ready to swarm over into Spain, the Muslimeen were no longer a handful of nomad adventurers, they were a horde of sturdy hill-men, the Arab and the Berber blended in the Moor, with the latter element predominating. These were the people who over-ran Spain, and whose northward march was the terror of Europe, among whom science flourished and art reigned supreme. Had it not been for this potent factor the Peninsula had never known the Moor.

The greater part of the Atlas mountains, and right away across North Africa, that back-ground belt of snow-capped mountains, is the Berbers' dwelling place, and though many of the hill tribes are of mixed origin, so that it is to-day sometimes extremely difficult to assert off-hand the nationality of this one or that; by their language, by their customs, they are linked together as one race; so utterly distinct from their neighbours there is no confounding the vast majority of tribes. Yet what do we know about them? Just next to nothing! Let me therefore attempt in a few words to epitomize the leading

features of that section which dwells in Morocco.

In all my dealings with this people, extending over a period of some nine years, I have found them a fine, open race, extremely suspicious of foreigners, but ever ready to become good friends when they have proved the stranger to be true. I consider them in every way superior to the Arabs, in physique and in moral character.

From the first the conquering Easterns inter-married with them, accepting those who "resigned themselves" as brothers, and appropriating the women of those who did not. Those nomad Arabs who still dwell on the plains are not descended from the original invaders, but from immigrants of several centuries later.

The Berbers pay but little respect to the authority of the Sultan, whose chief power and influence is religious, for on them

the religion of Arabia sits lightly.

Every summer the Sultan undertakes an expedition against them for the extension of his rule, or the collection of tithes. United, these wiry mountaineers could easily overcome him, but their inter-tribal rivalry has ever been their weakness. This alone enabled the wanderers from Asia to master them one by one, and it is the experience gained by the Moorish government of to-day, in pitting one against another, which gives it so much success in employing the same tactics towards European nations.

Race.

As yet no decision has been arrived at as to the family to which the Berbers and their language belong. Some hold them to be Hamitic, but I am inclined to believe that while certain portions, notably towards the south-west, have largely intermingled with, and become modified by, the sons of Ham, they are themselves of another stock. Why should they have no Aryan blood? There may be something after all in the well worn theory that these people were descended, in part, at all events, from the tribes expelled from Palestine by Joshua. The name by which these Berbers know themselves, Amazeergh, and in some places Amashek (language Tha Tamashek), gives colour to the supposition, based on traditions of old writers, that their forefather was Meshech, the son of Japheth. The name Philistine (Pilistin) is recorded by several original authors as used in different districts, both as denoting Jews and Berbers. Some Berber tribes are doubtless partially of Jewish blood. There is a strong supposition that the mysterious Iberians of the Peninsula were of this stock, and I am inclined to believe, from internal evidence, a theory which at first struck me as very far fetched, that they were closely allied to the "little black Celts," the genuine Celts being a tall, red-haired people. If so, they were ancestors to a portion of the population of the western parts of Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, to say nothing of Biscay and Finisterre, and the builders of those rude stone monuments which exist as well in Barbary as in Britain. Dr. Brenton makes out the old Etruscans to have been Berbers. Whoever in Europe may or may not have claimed kindred with them, the fact remains, as stated by Latham, that the Berbers. or more strictly speaking, the Amazeergh, occupy yet the largest area of any race in Africa.

Language.

Though the Berber tongue has a strong affinity to the Semitic in the construction, both of words and sentences, and especially in its verbs, its vocabulary is so entirely different that it can

¹ De Slane, in the notes to his translation of the Berber historian, Ibn Kheldoon, points out the following features of similarity to the Semitic class: its triliteral roots, the inflexions of the verb, the formation of derived verbs, the genders of the second and third persons, the pronominal affixes, the aoristic style of tense, the whole and broken plurals, and the construction of the phrase,

hardly belong there. It has been suggested with some show of reason that the present form is an older and less perfect lan-

guage, moulded grammatically on the Arab model.

The vast number of Arabic words which have been incorporated into the modern Berber, by some writers estimated as a third, which I do not think excessive—have all been more or less modified to bring them into harmony with the original rhythm, but I believe that from one dialect or another, all the real Berber words might be collected. This task would, however, be a useless, though interesting one, as in no part would all of it be intelligible. The proportion of negro words in use towards the south, though large, is not so great as that of Arabic Some have imagined that the ancient Punic in the north. bore some relation to this tongue, but this has been disproved, though it is almost certain that Jugurtha and his people spoke it, and it must have been well known to the Carthaginians. M. de Rochemonteix has pointed out that the same pronominal roots, the same methods of inflecting them and the substantives, and of forming derivatives, existed in the ancient Egyptian, as is met with in the Berber of to-day. There is a strong belief that the Guanchos of the Canaries were Berbers, and evidence of at least an intimate connection is afforded by the similarity of many of their words and grammatical forms, as shown by a study of the language of Teneriffe. It is indeed strange that a language spoken so near at hand by such a numerous race, occupying so extensive a territory, should still be practically unknown to our scholars. Several authors of note have from time to time occupied themselves with it, mostly treading on one another's heels, instead of faring afield. Among those who have done real service, mention must not be omitted of Prof. F. W. Newman (publications on it from 1836 to 1887) and Venture de Paradis, who have studied at great disadvantages, of Delaporte and Hanoteau, with their Algerian Berber grammars, Brosselard and René Basset with their dictionaries, nor De Slane with his able translations. Prof. Basset has been at work on the subject for some fifteen years, and has produced a comparative vocabulary of several dialects, and a collection of fables in those of no less than twenty-three tribes. A few years ago M. Louis Rinn issued a pains-proving work, in which he makes the Berber language and character parent to Greek, Latin, French and family! My own feeling about his work, however, is that it is more ingenious by far than conclusive.

whereas it differs from it in the dative of the third personal pronoun, and in the mobilization of the pronominal affixes. It differs essentially from the Coptic and Haussa languages in conjugations, declensions, and vocabulary.

Literature.

The great difficulty with Berber is that it is a language without a literature, only one or two dialects possessing any writings at all, these being chiefly of small account, and in adapted Arabic characters. Traces of an ancient alphabet are to be found in some districts of southern Algeria, and these have been collated, showing that there were thirty-two letters. In addition to the twenty-eight of Arabic, it boasts tsheem, giain f (like the Persian) shad, o, and gaf, of The Tooareg possesses no ain, s. It is full of the gutturals, ghain s and kha t.

Doubtless a careful search among the female ornaments would discover something akin to this character in Morocco. As a rule the women speak less Arabic than the men, and among the Tooaregs, more of them, it is said, read than men. The writings discovered have usually been but inscriptions of various sorts.

The many dialects into which the language has in process of time become subdivided are attributable to this lack of a literary standard. The difference is indeed so great between distant parts, as to have led many to suppose that they were different tongues. It may yet be proved that some are as distinct as Spanish and Italian. St. Augustine, however, recognised their fundamental unity, for he wrote ("De Civitate," xvi. 6), "In Barbary, Africa, we know many people with one tongue." Such comparisons as I have been able to make between the styles used in Morocco have satisfied me that they are essentially one. The only dialect I have attempted to learn is that of the province of Reef, but I can lay claim to no deep acquaintance with even that. To give an idea of its sound, I quote the Lord's prayer in Reefian Berber.

·Bábáth-nakh wunnt dhi ijnathin, 'ádheetawakaddas isim innish, addlas álladhi fi es-samawát, lecatakaddas 'ísm-ak, Abá-ná ir-khardir innish mammish goojinna hamis masheéat-ak kamá fi es-samá kadálik ir-hakamth innish, ateeri malakoot-ak, litakun masheéat-šk idhakhaîrizimin ooksha-nath áidhá; 'thaghferkha-tha-moorth: ághrom khubza-ná kafáfa-ná áâtî-ná el yôm; wa ághfir thanakh dhanoob innakh mammish ghanaghfer nishshin thaniar ir-mudnikamá dhunooba-ná naghfir nahan áïdán lil-mudhnibeen in-nakh; wa-ra-khsidif dhî 'tajrîb, 'lakin sinjmanakh izg-Ibrîs'; been îlaï-ná; wa lá tadkhil-nà fî tajribat, lakin najji-ná min csh-shirreer; ·lianna gharik ir-murk. d hir-koowith d hir-majd ghar daim. Ameen. el-mulk wa el-koowat wa el-majd îlà el-ábad. Ameen.

In the above specimen the Arabic version as pronounced in Morocco is placed under the Reefian, word for word. To simplify comparison, hyphens are used to separate words from particles, though not so separated in writing, to make it more distinct. A point (') before or after a portion of a word, shows that that portion is corrupted Arabic. This has not been done in the case of particles.¹

This is from the translation now being prepared for the Bible Society by Mr. Mackintosh of Tangier. The only other volume of any importance in either of the Morocco dialects of which I am aware, is the Toowahhid (the Unity of God), a very rare and highly prized treatise believed to be the oldest African work in existence, except in Egyptian or Æthiopic—written by an early Moorish Sultan, Ben Toomert the Mehdi, also the author of a work called "Morsheedah,"—to convince the Berbers of the

truth of his creed, in which he was successful.

This volume still exists in rare copies. It is divided into sections, chapters and verses, for facility of study, and was held in greater reverence, if possible, than the Kor'an itself, among the Berbers, who think a great deal of it to this day. As the Masmoodah tribe, the first to support this Mehdi, could not speak Arabic, Ben Toomert counted the words in the first chapter of the Kor'an—which is an excellent prayer used in all Mohammedan devotions—and calling as many men, seated them in a row and named each one with a word. Then, each pronouncing his name in order, they repeated the chapter.

When Arabic is spoken of as the language of Morocco, it is seldom realised how small a proportion of its inhabitants use it naturally. Berber is the real language of Morocco, Arabic that of its creed and government. Some centuries ago a Mowahadî Sultan (Almohade) dismissed the officials of the great Karueeïn mosque at Fez because they could not speak Berber as well as Arabic.

The word Berber itself, from which we have formed the word Barbary, is of very doubtful origin. Equivalents, denoting indistinct sounds, seem to exist in Latin, Greek and Arabic, while it is not probably a genuine Berber word. It serves, nevertheless, as a convenient and widely accepted name for the whole race, which is known to the people themselves by a different title in each district. Only certain portions acknowledge the name of Berber, pl. Beráber.

Physique.

As might well be expected of such a race of mountaineers, the physique of the Berbers is splendid, and among them are to

¹ A peculiarity of the Reef dialect is the change of the Arabic "1" to "r," as will have been observed in this quotation, a fact which lends support to the theory that the word Reefian or Reefi is identical with Lybian or Leebi," "b" and "f" being of course interchangeable, viå "v." I have no opinion to offer on this point.

be seen a good proportion of fine-featured men. They are of a fair height, often tall, strong and wiry, capable of sustaining exertion. They are well-knit, spare in flesh, and though as a nation fair of skin, often tanned by the sun. Those who inhabit the Soos province—the Slooh—are as a rule shorter by far than those of the north, and those of the Draa and the anti-Atlas —the Dráwîs—whose mingled origin has before been alluded to, are considerably darker, more thickly set, and shorter, though none the less jovial—perhaps even more so—and certainly no whit less enduring than their brethren of colder regions. darker families are known as Harateen (s. Hartánî). Some of their countenances are most striking, being of very pronounced type, keen eyes, jovial mouth and white teeth. Their brainpower, to judge from the outward appearance of their craniums, should be in no way deficient, and I do not fancy that the thickness of their skulls in any way equals that of the negroes, though I believe I have seen lads of this race also play at "billy-goat," and butt at one another's pates with an astounding crash. Following the custom of the country, all the males shave their heads, except one tribe only that I know of, the Ida-oo-Blal, believed to be of Arab origin; but many tribes leave a patch on one side to grow into a pig-tail, the exact reason for which I have never been able to ascertain, though in this they would seem to maintain an ancient Egyptian custom, judging from ancient sculptures of that country. Other tribes are known by a tuft called a "sheaf" on either temple, but it is noteworthy that in this case the hair is always curly. The Oodara, the hereditary body-guard of the sultans, follow this custom, but they bear few traces of the Berber now beyond their splendid physique. Perhaps it is intermarriage with negroes which accounts for the "woolliness." Debauchery being less common among the Berbers than among the town dwellers, they have a better chance, and succeed in living longer. Their callousness to extremes of heat and cold is astounding, and their powers of endurance noteworthy. They have in some districts been noted for their acrobats as far as history extends. Herodotus speaks of them, and the Egyptian monuments are said also to record their visits from the West in those days. Of recent years companies from Soos have played in Europe and America.

Characteristics.

I have already mentioned some of the characteristics of this people, but there are other points which should not pass unnoticed. Like hardy mountaineers all the world over, the Berbers are essentially an independent and a warlike race. One of the greatest insults to be offered to one of them is to say "Your father died in his bed." In some districts the coward is paraded in a Jew's cap till he has retrieved his character by some brave deed. The petty warfare which is incessant among them, renders their tenure of life very uncertain, and there is a saying that the Arab fears hunger and is starved; the townsman fears death from too fast living, and kills himself thereby, while the Berber fears murder and is assassinated. Two gunshots are a common summons to an armed affray, where everyone goes armed, ready to defend or to attack as occasion offers. The quiet plain-dwellers have a wholesome dread of these highlanders, and nothing could be more comical than the awe of one of our servants at the sight of an Aberdonian, after having been duly instructed that he belonged to one of the Berber clans of Great Britain!

Leo Africanus says of them, quaintly translated by Pory, "No people under heaven are more addicted unto courtesie than this nation. Mindful they have always been of injuries, but most forgetful of benefits. . . . The greater part of these people are neither Mohammedans, Jews, nor Christians, and hardly shall you find so much as a sparke of pietie in any of them." They certainly display untamed cupidity, and are delightfully ignorant of truthfulness and honesty to a degree

most truly Oriental.

In most other points almost every tribe differs from its neighbour. For instance, one will be found extremely religious, with saints, shrines, and teachers in abundance, and next to it will be a tribe in which Islám is a mere form and even the rite of circumcision is but scantily practised. In one spot the grossest ignorance prevails, while hard by is a tribe of which many women even can read. I remember the mother of one Berber Káïd (Governor), who not only spoke Arabic as fluently as her own tongue, but also read it with ease, and could discourse most intelligently. One general custom, or rather absence of it, is to allow the women to go unveiled, except where more Arabicised, while on the borders of the desert the men wear veils as a protection from the sand and glare. A pall of gross superstition, however, casts its gloom over all alike.

Government.

The methods of self-rule followed by the Berber tribes vary considerably. In some cases the governing body is a gathering of representatives of the various sections, veritable little republics, as near the democratic ideal as possible. The more original custom, however, seems to have been to entrust supreme power to a chief called an amghar, of a hereditary stock. These are feudal lords who, as a rule, realise that the less they oppress

their people the more secure their position will be. There is still a third style, in which the assembly nominates a sort of governor. It is strange that so vast and so distinct a people should own no leader round whose standard to rally in the face of a common foe. It would seem as though, rightly or wrongly, the curse of Ishmaël had descended upon them. Among themselves there is always warfare. No traveller is safe from pillage unless accompanied by a member of the tribe through which he may be passing, of sufficient importance to protect him from injury, for fear of retribution.

Laws, &c.

As a Mohammedan nation, the Berbers are nominally ruled by the Kor'an, but it is only natural that a number of ancient usages belonging to an earlier faith should have survived among such a conservative folk. Genuine Berber civil laws, called inserf, are, like the customs, entirely traditional, and are upheld by an assembly called the infaliz. A verbal summons before witnesses on the part of the plaintiff is all that is necessary to secure a trial. The defendant may refuse to appear before any particular judge whom he may deem to be partial, or he may demand a fresh trial by another judge if dissatisfied with the first, but bribery is alone successful in practice. go round to offer rewards in the case of theft, and houses may be searched, but if in vain, compensation has to be paid, which is prohibitive of extension of the practice. Their punishments are not as a rule severe, though much suffering is often inflicted by the great people of a tribe by the imprisonment of offenders or enemies in underground granaries unfit for a human being to live in. The bastinado is also employed, but not so much as further East. Criminals are subject to the lex talionis, of which the vendetta is a natural consequence; this continues till either put an end to by some superior civil or religious authority, or by the practical extermination or expatriation of one side. Capital punishment is rare, with the exception of cases in which the culprit is handed over to the avenger of blood to do what he will with him. The blood feuds which result from the operation of this law are among the chief sources of the continual fighting among the tribes, though often it is a simple raid or highway robbery which gives rise to a quarrel in which eventually some thousands become involved. Plunder of passers-by is looked upon as quite a respectable method of subsistence, and excursions are often made to the lowlands or to the outskirts of some city for this purpose, or to carry off the droves of steeds and oxen which have been sent out to graze. Another fertile source of quarrels is the right to the use of streams for irrigation purposes.

Social Customs.

The hospitality of these people, if not so profuse as that attributed to the Arabs, is sufficiently extensive when fear or prejudice is removed. Were it not for their lack of a staple government, and the tempting ease with which crime of all sorts may be committed among them, even the present system of escorts would doubtless be unnecessary. Travellers must always pay "zetát" to be provided with "mezrag," or protection, the latter word meaning literally a lance, as the sending with them of a chief's weapon used to be their guarantee. Space will not permit of my going into the methods adopted for the protection of the weak by the strong, or the offering up of a sacrifice to secure such protection, the fact being attested by a notarial document, and the subsequent payment of tribute; suffice it to say that the confidence reposed is rarely abused.

In some districts all the visitors make for the mosque, whence the chief sends any number up to ten who may come on the same day to be the guests of a certain resident. Each "householder" takes his turn, which alone counts, not the number

entertained.

Monogamy is far more common than polygamy, and there is less vice than in the towns, even though a good deal of drunkenness has to be included in some parts. Syphilis, the national disease of Morocco, is said to be unknown across the Atlas, and to be cured by going there. The marriage customs are peculiar, in one case the women being practically sold on the market once a year. The ladies promenade unveiled, and the intending suitor, when fancying one of them, goes with her to seek her father or other guardian to ask her in marriage. only engagement entered into is to bring her back to the same place on a market day if tired of her, that she may better her This is sworn to in a saint's shrine, and the present of a pair of slippers or some garment to the father seals the bargain. Certain tribes expect no more virtue among the fair sex than among the men. Several are noted for their beautiful women, and others for their love of ornaments, usually silver bracelets, anklets, brooches, and amber, bead or coral necklets. I have also seen stone bracelets.

When a marriage is celebrated in more orthodox style, it is made the occasion of a great deal of innocent rejoicing, and a large quantity of powder is "made to speak." The spears with which, in a more primitive condition, these people were wont to arm themselves, and in exercises with which the Arabs taught great proficiency, have been replaced by long-barrelled flint-lock guns of native manufacture, often beautifully ornamented

These are brandished, pointed, and finally fired, while at full gallop on horseback, in much the same way as the earlier spears were manipulated in their day. The bride is borne under cover in state to the bridegroom's dwelling after certain jollifications have been indulged in, and this is a signal for great exhibitions of this powder-play, performed, however, among the Berbers very much on foot. When the bride is a widow but little fuss is made, if any. Intermarriage between the tribes is not so common as it might be, owing to their constant jealousies. The same bars of relationship obtain, of course, as throughout the Mohammedan world. Circumcision is often postponed till the age of twelve or thirteen, and the operation is performed with a pair of scissors in the shrine of some saint. No kindred rite is inflicted on the females, who have very much more liberty than on the plains.

Festivals.

The Berber festivals are mainly those of Islam, though a few traces of their predecessors are observable. Of these the most noteworthy is midsummer, or St. John's day, still celebrated in a special manner, and styled "el ânserah." It is worthy of note that the old style European calendar is maintained among them, and it would be very interesting to know whence they obtained it. Some opine that once, as a nation, they were Christians, but this I believe to be quite a mistake. The influence of the various bishoprics established along the North African coast was never very far-reaching, and in many cases they were little more than The special estimation in which the Virgin Mary is held in some parts, and certain ceremonies maintained here and there, are often adduced as proofs of a former profession of Christianity, but I am inclined to doubt the whole thing. will not permit of any description of these relics, of whatever they may be, which differ so in various parts of the country, and I have not yet had the opportunity to give either them or the folk-lore of the people the attention which they deserve.

Dress.

The dress varies as much in different localities as anything else. Far in the interior it is almost entirely of wool, needles and thread being unknown. A piece of oblong white blanket or dark blue cotton with a longitudinal slit in the centre for the head—like the Mexican "poncho"—is thrown over the

¹ A curious custom for recording time has been noted among them, the standard measure being the time a certain basin with a hole in it takes to fill and sink.

shoulders, simply knotted at the lower corners round the waist, over which a skirt cloth is tied on the left hip. The women often secure the former in their places by massive silver brooches of a peculiar pattern on the shoulder, and wear a waist cord. Cotton of cheaper European manufacture is steadily finding its way to supersede these more primitive garments. Brooches of precisely the same peculiar pattern are found in parts of Ireland

and Scotland. I have seen them in Dublin Museum,

A toga-like arrangement of a light blanket serves as overall, with another small piece of flannel or dark blue cotton or camelhair cord twisted round the shaven crown. The most distinctive garment, however, is the *khaneef*, a thick, black, goat-hair waterproof hooded cloak, with no arm-holes. Across the back is a striking yellow embroidered assegai-shaped patch, the variations in which denote, I believe, different clans. Sandals are worn towards the desert, but only by cavaliers. No description of the Berber wardrobe will serve for two districts, so I had best intrude no further.

Manufactures.

Cooking utensils, saddlery, arms, musical instruments, and other articles of native manufacture, if rude in some parts, in others have attained what may be considered a high state of perfection, with due regard to their resources. In their decorative art considerable talent is displayed, and in the more remote districts, where Arab influence is less felt, the affinity of design and colour to those of Central Africa is very marked. This is especially the case with the black and blue-green leather work. To the south-west the comparative proximity to Guinea makes itself felt in the same way. As compared with more refined Oriental productions, however, everything is extremely rude.

It is a striking fact that far away on the other side of the great Atlas is to be found a decorative taste in building, which is quite remarkable among a people usually setting so little store by the beauty or otherwise of their dwellings. Ornamentation is to be seen upon every hand, and instinctively the question is asked how far these people we call Barbarians are accountable for the prosperity of the arts under Moorish rule in Spain. While the Arab or Moor of the plains is content to dwell in the meanest of huts, or a tent, and the strongholds of the Governors are of rough rammed earth, outside a shapeless mass worn by the wind and rain, these Berbers dwell in comfortable houses with projecting eaves to their flat roofs, and the citadels which dot the Atlas are crenellated like some mediæval fortress, wearing quite an imposing appearance. In some districts strong store-towers are observable on every hand, which in time of war

serve as forts. The people dwell in homes as various as their dress. It is believed that, like the Arabs, they were originally nomads, and many live still in huts which they are nothing loth to quit and rebuild elsewhere. Sallust's comparison of their thatched homesteads to the upturned keels of boats is well known, but is not a very good one. Sometimes they are oblong with square ends, but they are sometimes round like bee-hives, and pointed on the plains. On ascending the northern slopes of the Atlas this class of dwellings entirely disappears, and is replaced by the erections of stone and mud, roofed with sticks spread over with trodden earth, already alluded to. For protection, as the villages are seldom walled unless of some size, all the doors of a group are turned to the centre, and the walls are windowless. One district I know of is peculiar in having its dwellings each in the centre of its owner's plot of ground.

Built mosques are infrequent, though saints' shrines are common enough—sometimes the only white-washed structures to be met with—and often an ordinary hut or room has to do duty for both school and church. For ovens they build a sort of dome with a hole in the top, which is first well-heated by lighting a fire in it, and the bread is put in while it is still hot. Adjoining almost every village, or not far from it is another one, occupied solely by Jews. These live as slaves to their respective Berber protectors, and are subjected to all sorts of indignities. These they lose no opportunity of repaying with the proportion of interest they endeavour to obtain for their loans of cash, by their superior subtlety and cunning.

1

Food.

The food of these people is of the simplest, and very nearly vegetarian. Barley porridge—âseedah—eaten with oil or butter, is esteemed a great delicacy, and as the national dish, takes the place of the excellent granulated maccaroni—kesksoo—of the Meat is the portion only of great men, except on market days or festive occasions. Agriculture is much neglected. Fruits and vegetables become exceedingly scarce in the country. Towards the desert dates are a staple article of diet, and walnuts are plentiful in the mountains. As a specimen of the daily round of meals I may give one: on waking a bowl of vegetable broth, at eleven o'clock a dip in the family dish of porridge, at sunset a similar share of kesksoo, made, perchance, as I have tasted it, of barley with fresh broad beans or turnips on the top. A favourite breakfast for those who have cows is sour milk and dates. Making a virtue of necessity, it seems to me that most of these dirty people like their milk sour. Honey is much used, but the wax chiefly wasted. Salt is found in abundance in certain regions, while further south it becomes extremely valuable. Soap—always soft—is unknown far inland, cinders and herbs replacing it, though where it is made—solely by the Jews—it has a good sale. In many parts even cows are scarce, as well as horses, &c. Those steeds still found there, as well as the mules, are very small and wonderfully agile. Had not they possessed the latter quality, I doubt whether I would be here to-day, for sometimes in those roadless mountain wastes one has to ride as the Moors say, "liver in mouth." The sheep, too, are small, and many of them black. The men use the black wool, and the women the white in some districts.

Several of the tribes are very fond of smoking, using pipe bowls of hard black wood from the Soodan, or hollow bones. Their tobacco is sold by the leaf. Snuffing is more common, the preparation employed consisting of equal parts of pounded tobacco, walnut shells, and wood ashes. I do not think that hemp is so much patronized further south as it is on the northern plains. Intoxicating drinks—usually thick syrups—are prepared from dates, figs and raisins, but inebriety is not

general anywhere.

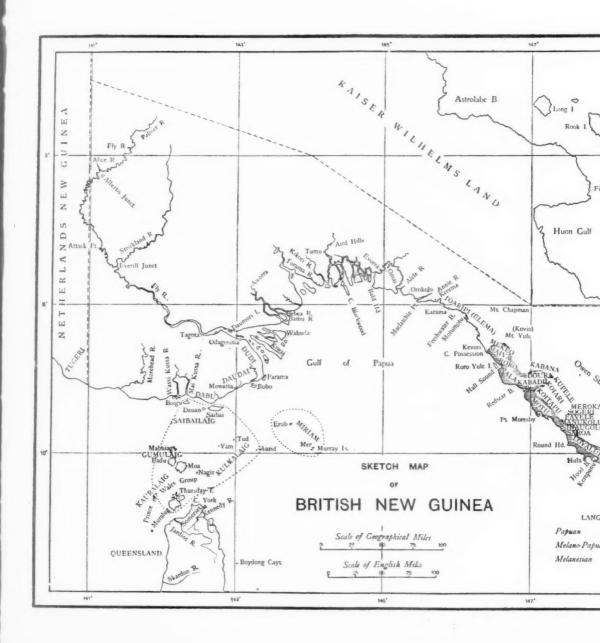
So much have I ventured to set down about the Berbers, not because I desire to pose as an authority, but to attract the attention of capable scholars to this interesting people. Had I a less ingrained fancy for restricting myself to either what I knew from personal observation, or on the best of authority, I could have no doubt made my paper much more entertaining. I am glad to say that of late years several Berber and other North African historians have been translated from the Arabic—such as that of Ibn Khaldoon by the Baron de Slane—and that several scientists, most of them French, have been paying considerable attention to this nation, of which we yet know so little.

FEBRUARY 13TH, 1894.

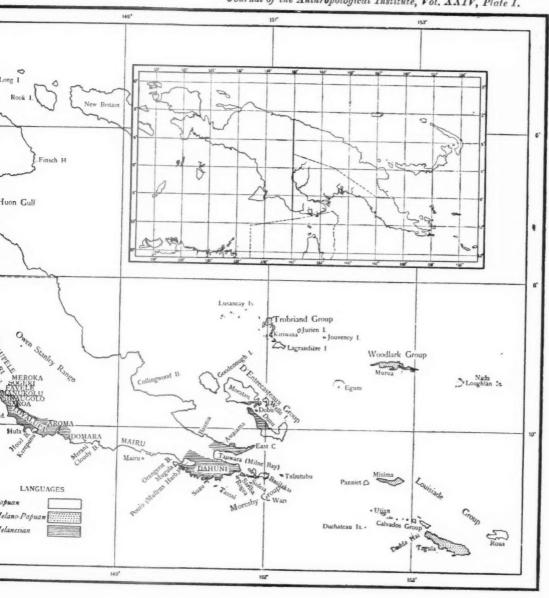
Prof. A. MACALISTER, F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and signed.





Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. XXIV, Plate I.





The LANGUAGES of BRITISH NEW GUINEA. By SIDNEY H. RAY. [WITH MAP. PLATE I.]

I.—Introduction.

In the investigation of problems concerning Oceanic anthropology the nature and relations of the New Guinea languages ought to occupy an important place. It is in the neighbourhood of that island that the chief types of the Oceanic races-Malay, Papuan, Melanesian, Australian—meet, and it is there that we may most conveniently study the connection of the various sections of the races with each other. In New Guinea the relationship of the Australians to the other peoples of Oceania may most satisfactorily be investigated, and there only does it seem possible to obtain data which may be of use in determining the existence or non-existence of an earlier race in Melanesia or

Polynesia than that now found.

Yet nothing is more perplexing or more indefinite than the present state of New Guinea anthropology. Hardly any two accounts of the physical characteristics of the people agree, the nomenclature of the races is uncertain, and travellers' descriptions of customs and habits are extremely vague. Recent advances, however, in our knowledge of British New Guinea have rendered it possible to use the languages as a basis of classification, and in this paper I propose to discuss the position of the New Guinea languages with regard to one another and also with regard to those of other portions of Oceania. The conclusions arrived at may not be found decisive by every anthropologist, but in future investigations they must necessarily form an important factor and ought not to be overlooked.

An endeavour will be here made to prove by linguistic evidence alone that the southern shores of British New Guinea, with the adjacent islands, form the meeting place of tribes speaking two widely different types of language, one of which

is aboriginal and the other intrusive.

To distinguish the languages it will be convenient to use in a somewhat restricted sense the terms Melanesian and Papuan. These are not new to Oceanic Philology, but have been so loosely applied as to have become misleading, and hence require definition. They are here used in the most literal and special sense, and the term Melanesian is limited to the inhabitants and languages of

¹ The relationship of the Torres Straits languages (Miriam, Saibai, and Daudai) which are usually included among the New Guinea languages, have been fully discussed by Prof. Haddon and myself in our "Study of the Languages of Torres Straits," part 1, "Proceedings of Roy. Irish Academy," 3rd ser., vol. ii, No. 4.

the great island chain which extends from the eastern extremity of New Guinea to New Caledonia. With a similar limitation the term Papuan is used to name the darker and more frizzly-haired natives of the mainland of New Guinea. If this distinction be borne in mind, the designation of any language spoken in New Guinea as Melanesian will at once mark it as akin to the island tongues, and of intrusive origin, whilst the description of any language as Papuan will show that its nearest allies are among the languages characteristic of the true aborigines of New Guinea.

The languages here called *Melanesian* are not found in New Guinea further west than Cape Possession, and even on the south-eastern shores appear only in detached settlements which rarely extend far into the interior, unless along a river bank. In native tradition the tribes using these languages are said to have come across the sea at some remote period and to have occupied the villages and plantations on the coast.¹ The name given by one section of these tribes to themselves is "*Motu*," a word which is commonly used in the Melanesian and Polynesian dialects for "island."²

The speech of these intruders is in every essential a branch of the same linguistic family as that found in the southern portion of the Solomon Group, in Banks' Islands, Fiji, and the New Hebrides. In relation to one another the various dialects are homogeneous, and all apparently belong to the same stock. They have the same grammatical structure as the languages of the islands, and have similar variations in phonology. Their voca-

bularies are full of the same common words.

The Papuan languages of British New Guinea are spoken west of Cape Possession, on the islands of Torres Straits, in a few districts on the south-eastern shores, and in the inland districts so far as they have yet been explored. They present in nearly every respect the widest possible contrast to the Melanesian. Instead of the comparatively simple forms of the Melanesian grammar we have elaborate expressions built up after the Australian manner by suffixes. Entirely strange features of grammar are found, and there is hardly any agreement between

² Cf. Samoan, Tongan, Marquesan motu, islet, Hawaiian moku, Efate vanua

motu, &c.

^{1 &}quot;The inhabitants of the inland villages are probably the aborigines, who have been driven back to the hills by the robuster race now occupying their plantations on the coast." Rev. J. Chalmers, "Work and Adventure in New Guinea," p. 84. In another place Mr. Chalmers notices the native contention that the Koitapu (or Koita, Papuans) are the real owners of the soil, whilst the sea belongs to the conquering (Melanesian) Motu.

³ Since the languages of these islands show decided Australian affinities, it would be, perhaps, better to describe them as *Papuo-Australian*. In this notice, however, they are classed with the Papuan tongues.

one language and another in vocabulary or constructive particles. The appearance is presented of various linguistic stocks. tribes speaking these tongues are represented as different in customs, frizzly-haired, and darker than the invaders from across the sea. There seems little doubt but that they are the true aborigines of New Guinea. Unfortunately, the difficulty of understanding the structure of the languages, and their diversity in vocabulary, have militated against the acquisition of accurate knowledge, but quite enough has been ascertained to show their complete separation from the Melanesian both in structure and vocabulary.

Besides these two types—Melanesian and Papuan—there are to be found at the Eastern end of the Possession, in the Louisiade Archipelago, other languages which are remarkably different from the Melanesian languages generally and yet have in many cases Melanesian words and grammatical forms. Though imperfectly known, it seems possible to regard these as languages belonging to originally Papuan stocks, upon which have been grafted in course of time words and idioms from the Melanesian tongues. Their Papuan origin will account for their diversity, and the Melanesian element, which is common to all, will account for partial agreements and show the amount of contact with the island languages. If this supposition be correct we may expect languages of a similar character in the Northern Solomon Islands, and such are indeed found. The languages of Alu¹ (Treasury Island), Buka (Bougainville Island),² New Georgia, and Savo show that there are in parts of the Solomon Islands some forms of speech which differ more or less from the typical Melanesian and probably contain some Papuan elements. For these mixed languages is proposed and here used the term Melano-Papuan.

II. Classification.

In the following table the known languages of British New Guinea are arranged, as far as their mutual connection will allow, in geographical order commencing from the West. No languages are inserted in the table unless actual specimens have been examined, and in all cases the district where spoken and the authority for the specimen is stated.

¹ Vocabulary by Dr. H. B. Guppy in "The Solomon Islands and their

natives," London, 1887, p. 181. ² Vocabularies by H. Zöller, "Untersuchungen über 24 sprachen aus dem Schutzgebiet der Neuguinea Compagnie," Petermann's Mitteilungen, 36 Band,

^{1890,} v. p. 127; and by C. M. Woodford, "A Naturalist among the Head Hunters," London, 1890, p. 225.

3 Vocabularies by Rev. Dr. Codrington, "The Melanesian Languages," Oxford, 1885, p. 39; and by C. M. Woodford, "Naturalist among the Head Hunters," p. 225.

⁴ Vocabulary and Grammar by Rev. Dr. Codrington, "Melanesian Languages," p. 39 and p. 559.

VOL. XXIV.

A.—MELANESIAN LANGUAGES.

	Language.	age.		А	Dialect.			Locality.	Authority.
Total Control of the				Mekeo	:	:	:	Upper S. Joseph River	Macgregor, Ann. Report on Brit. New Guinea, 1890.
1.	1. Maiva	:	:	Maiva-Kivori	rori	:	:	Mainland opposite Yule Is.	_
				Laval	:	:	:	Yule Is.	-
				Nala Kabadi	::	::	: :	Redscar Bay	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891. Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.
લાં	2. Motu	:	•	Doura	::	::	: :	Do. Port Moresby	Brit. New Guin. Vocabs. Lawes. Motu Gram.
				Hula	:	:	:	Hood Point,	Text.
				Bula'a Keapara	: :	: :	: :	Do.	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891. Text.
ಣೆ	3. Loyalupa	:	:	Kerepunu	:	:		Hood Bay	~
	4			Aroma	:	•	*		Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit.
				Sinaugolo	:	:		Coast	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.
				Tarova or Saroa	Baron		:	op	Brit. New Guin, Vocabs.
				Sariba	::	::	: :	Hayter 18	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890. Macgillivray. Vov. Rattlesnake.
4	4. Sariba	:		Suan	:	:	:	South Cape	~
				TA.		:		Brumer Is	Macgillivray, Voy. Rattlesnake.
10	5. Awaiama	:		Awaiama	::	::	: :	Chads Bay	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.
					:	:	*	East Cape f Goulvain Is., between Normanby	Dark, New Guin. Vocabs.
ò	o. Dobu	:	:	1	:	:	:	Is, and Ferguson Is	Ausegregor, Ann. report, 1002.

B.--PAPUAN LANGUAGES.

	Language.	.ogi		а	Dialect.			Locality.	Authority.	
1000	1. Saibai		:	Kauralaig Gumulaig Saibailaig	: :	:::	:::	Prince of Wales Is., Moa Badu and Mabuing Boigu, Dauan, Saibai		nd Prof.
-	2. Dabu			Damu Toga Mowat	::::	:::::	: : : : :	Angle, Aud. Mass, &c	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1990. MS., Beardmore and Haddon. MS., Rev. E. B. Sarane.	
-	3. Daudai or Kiwai	Kiwai		Kiwai	: :	: :	:	Delta of Fly River	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1890.	
4 .2	4. Miriam 5. Tumu	: :	: :	Erub Mer	:::	:::	: : :	Murray 1s On Doughs River, 25 miles N.W.		
	6. Evorra	:	:	1	:	:	•	On Queen's Jubilce River, 15 miles N. of Bald Head	Bevan, Toil and Travel.	
1	7. Elema	•	:	Toaripi Motumotu	: ::	: ::		Village at Cape Possession (native aname, Toaripi; Motu name, Motumotu) District around Cape Possession	Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891. Lawes, Motu Gram., 2nd edit. Taxt. Stone, Few Months.	
	8. Koiari	:	:	Koiari Eikiri Koita Maiari	: :: :	: :: :	: :: :	Central district, inland from Port Moresby Do. do	Maegregor, Ann. Report, 1890. MS., Chalmers. Maegregor. Ann. Report, 1890. [MS., Chalmers, Brit. New Guin. Vocabs.	Vocabs.
				Favere Kupele Meroka	:::	:::	:::		I Stone, Few Months. MS., Chalmers. Do. Do.	

B.—PAPUAN LANGUAGES—continued.

Authority.	t. New Guin. Vocabs. egregor, Ann. Report, 1891.
Locality.	Interior, near Mount Owen Stan- ley Interior, east of Port Moresby Central portion of South Coast Mairu Island Macgregor, Ann. Report, 1891.
Dialect.	: :::
	Domara Mairu
	: : :
Language.	9. Kabana¹ 10. Manukoliu 11. Domara

¹ Kabana in Motu means waist; orooro kabanaai, waist of mountain, i.e., part of the way up. The Kabana district is on the slope of Mt. Owen Stanley.

C.—Melano-Papuan Languages.

у.	t, 1892.					
Authority.	knn. Report	do.	do.	do.	do.	
	Macgregor, Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	
	: :	:		•		
		:		:	0	
ity.	uisiad do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	
Locality	Trobriand Is., Lo Woodlark Is	Laughlan Is.,	St. Aignan Is.,	Sud Est Is.,	Rossel Is.,	
			:	:		
	: :	:				
Dialect.	::	:				
	::	:		:	•	
	-::	:	9	•	٠	
	: :					
ingo.	::					
Langr	Kiriwina Murua	Nada	Misima	Tagula	Rona	

III. A comparison of the Mclanesian and Papuan Languages of British New Guinea.

In comparing the Melanesian and Papuan languages of British New Guinea it is necessary to note that only one grammar has been published, that of the Motu of Port Moresby. Texts have been printed in several of the other languages (Maiva, Hula, Keapara, Kerepunu, Suau, Saibai, Miriam, and Motumotu), and some sentences are in most cases given with the vocabularies in the Annual Reports. In what follows the Motu grammar of the Rev. W. G. Lawes is used as the standard of comparison, but notes and illustrations from the vocabularies and texts are combined with it. The examples of Miriam, Daudai, and Saibai grammar are from the MS. notes of Professor A. C. Haddon and the writer.¹ For examples of the typical Melanesian reference is made to the Rev. Dr. Codrington's work on "The Melanesian Languages."

To exhibit the agreement of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea with those of the islands, and also the difference between the two types, it will be sufficient here to offer a few remarks on Phonology, Pronouns, Adjectives, and Verbal particles.

1. Phonology.—The phonology of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea is very similar to that of the Solomon Islands, and the character of the sound-changes are exactly described by Dr. Codrington when speaking of the island languages, he says: "Sounds which differ one from the other correspond one to the other in different languages; and, interesting as the phonetic changes are, it is apparently impossible to show a law prevailing between one language and another. The reason for this probably is that the various languages and dialects have been brought irregularly into their present seats, not in successive and considerable migrations from one quarter or another, but by chance and petty movements of people whose language, though belonging to one family, was already much broken up and diversified."2 To take only one example from the New Guinea languages, we find that generally the Kerepunu and Aroma g is dropped in Motu, e.g. Kerepunu aigo, Aroma gaigo, neck, Kerepunu, Aroma gena, his, Kerepunu legi, Aroma regi, grass, become aio, ena, rei in Motu. But in Motu bagu forehead, digu bathe, gado speech, Kerepunu bagu, rigu, garo, Aroma pagu, riku, karo, we find the guttural retained in each language. Moreover in the possessive pronoun "mine" we find the omission and retention in the same word, Motu egu, Kerepunu gegu, Aroma geku.

¹ A grammar and vocabulary of the Miriam will be found in part 1 of the "Study of the Languages of Torres Straits." Grammars and vocabularies of the Saibai and Daudai (or Kiwai) will appear in part 2.

² "Melanesian Languages," p. 202.

A fact worthy of notice is the loss in New Guinea of the gutturals ng as in sing, and ngg as in finger. These do not occur in any of the languages of the mainland except in Mekeo, where however ng seems to be a change from r. The omission of ng is compensated for by the lengthening of the vowel or substitution of g or n. Thus the common Melanesian words langi wind, tangi cry, appear in New Guinea as $l\bar{a}i$, agi, and $t\bar{a}i$, $h\bar{a}i$, agi, tani.

The compound consonant called the Melanesian q is found in New Guinea, but seems never to have its full sound kpw. It is not found in the Western Melanesian tongues Kabadi and Maiva, but is elsewhere represented by bw, pw, kw, and gw. In

Tagula it is often nasalized as mbw and ngw.

2. Pronouns.—The Melanesian Pronouns of New Guinea are as follows.

	I.		Thou.	He.		We (inclusive	ve).	We exclusiv	e).	You.	They.
Mekeo	 lau		oi	ia		naika		lai		aumi	iamo.
Maiva	 au		oi	ia		aika		ai		aui	ia.
Laval	 au		oi	_		-		_			_
Nala	 lau		oni	ia		ita		lai		oi	ia.
Kabadi	 nana		onina	_		isada		naida		uida	iada.
Dours	 11/416		oi	ia		namai		-		umui	isia.
Motu	 lau		oi	ia		ita		ai		umui	idia.
Hula	 au		oi	ia				ai		omi	ila.
Bula'a	 au		oi	ia		ia		ai		omi	ila.
Keapara	 au		oi	ia		ia		ai		omi	ila.
Kerepunu	 au		oi	ia	9.0	ia		ai		omi	ila.
Aroma	 lau		goi	ia		ia		ai		mui	ira.
Sinaugolo	 au		goi	gia		ita		gai		gomi	gia.
Tarova	 au		goi	gia		_		-		gomi	gia.
Sariba	 yau		koa	tenem		kita		kai		komi	sia.
Suau	 eau		oa	ia		ita		ai		omi	isi.
Wari	 iau		kowa	ia		_		kai		komiu	sia.
Awaiama	 tau y	ai	-	_				*****	- 1		-
East Cape	 tau		tam	iai		tanta		_	-	tamiai	inugoneina
Dobu	 ea		26	i		ta		_		omi	si.

¹ It may be noted here that words of identical origin often take in New Guinea, strangely different forms. Thus hitolo, hungry (New Hebrides pitolo) appears as vio; utu, louse (the common kutu) is found as gutu, utu, gu, u; tahodiho, west, in Motu, is avurigo in Kerepunu. These changes may be traced from one dialect to another (hitolo, vitolo, violo, vioo; kutu, gutu, gutu, gu, u), but there is no absolute rule. The vowels are usually permanent.

A comparison of these with the Melanesian forms given in Dr. Codrington's work show a large amount of agreement, especially with the languages of the Solomon Islands, e.g.:—

	I.	Thou.	He.	We (inclusive).	We (exclusive).	You.	They.
San Cristoval, Wango	au	0	ia	iga's	ame'u	amo	ira'u.
Vaturanga	au	ho	aia	hita	hami	hamu	hira, ra.

A few of the New Guinea forms require notice, especially the plural first person exclusive, and third person. In the former of these there is a remarkable absence of any form of ma, mam, or am, which is commonly found in the islands, neither do the New Guinea words in this person show any resemblance to the exceptions found in Melanesia. In the third person the languages of the central districts alone have the common la or ra, with the personal prefix i. The others have a form of isi or sia. This word does not appear in the Melanesian lists as a personal pronoun, but it is found as a demonstrative and is the Solomon Is. Wango esi, Vanua Lava es, Sesake se. The Motu idia by a regular substitution of d for s is the same as isi.

The Melano-Papuan languages only partly agree with the Melanesian.¹

	I.	Thou.	He.	We.	You.	They.
Kiriwina Murua Nada Misima Tagula	yegu yegu togu nau giya ihini	yoku, yokwa yakom tom owa kwenu renu	kanmaneti tona ia audanka	. 7	yakami tumis deukuwa	toweaka. tosi. eria. { degewu. imena.

Of these the Misima agrees with the New Guinea Melanesian, whilst the Nada forms and some of the Murua show the pronouns usual as possessive suffixes gu, m, na, &c.

The Papuan pronouns do not agree with the Melanesian, and show a great variety of forms with very doubtful correspondences.

¹ Only the root forms are here given; in the vocabularies, dual, trial, and plural forms are given, but the difference is mainly in the numeral affixed. The inclusive and exclusive forms are not distinctly made out.

	I.	Thou.	He.	We (inclusive)	We . (exclusive	You.	They.
Saibai	ngai [ngana	ngi	noi	ngoi			2
Dabu	nga	bungo	_	_	=	=	_
Kiwai	mo	ro	nōŭ	_	nimo .	. nigo	nei.
Miriam	{ka kaka	ma	} e	meriba	keriba .	. waba	wiaba.
Toaripi	arao	a'o	areo	erao	erao	. eo	ereo.
Motumotu	ara	ao	areo	leao	ero	. eo	ereo.
Koiari	da	a	eke	noikoa	noikoa .	. yane	yabuia.
Koita	da	ana	au	nokaki	nokaki	. yana	. eaukaki.
Kabana	nahu	sasana	derudaga	agego	agego	. inavanig	a apagodago
Manukolin	eme	va	oi	eme	eme .	. va	-
Domara	ia	ga	adege	gea	gea .	. gana	oma.
Mairu	ia	ga	ateg	kea	kea	. aea	oma.

It is, however, in expressing the idea of possession that the radical difference between the Melanesian and Papuan languages of New Guinea is most clearly seen. The former follow the common Melanesian rule, and suffix a pronoun to the names of parts of the body, relationships, and a few other words. These suffixed pronouns are *identical* with those used in the islands, and the Melano-Papuan languages show the same forms.

	M	y.	Thy.	H	is.	Our (inclusi	Our (exclusi	Your.	Their
Mekeo	 25		mu.	nga	(?)		mai	 i	i.
Maiva	 96		mu	na		_	mai	 mi	kia.
Nala	 re		mu	$n\alpha$		ta	 mai	 mui	da.
Kabadi	una	(?)	mu	na		_	mai	 mui	da.
Motu	gu		mu	na		da	 mai	 mui	dia.
Hula	 qu		mu	na			mai	 -	la.
Bula'a	 ku		mu	na		ra	 mai	 mi	ra.
Kerepunu	 gu		mu	na			ma	 mi	ria,
Aroma	 ku		mu	na		_	mai	 mi	ria.
Sinaugolo	 gu		mu	$n\alpha$		ra	 ma	 mi	ri.
Tarova	 gu		-	na		_		_	-
Sariba	 gu		979	na		da	 _	mei	di.
Suau	 gu		mu	$n\alpha$		da	 mai	 mi	di.
Awaiama	 26		-	na			-	_	-
Dobu	 gu		mu	na		da	 ma	 mi	di.
Kiriwina	 gu		m	na		_	_	-	-
Murua	 gu		mu	$n\alpha$		di	 	mi	si.
Misima	 -	-	m	na		_		_	ria.
Nada	 916		mu	na		da	 	mia	sa.

In the use of these pronouns, the New Guinea Melanesians have adopted a peculiar idiom from the Papuans, and use the ordinary form of the personal pronoun before the name of the object possessed, e.g.:—

Ne	w G	uinea.	Melanesian	Islands.1
Sinaugolo		0	Espiritu Santo, Tangoa	
Mekeo Motu		oi ima-mu. ia tama-na.	Pentecost Is., Arag. Solomen Is., Florida	lima-mu, thy hand.

That the New Guinea use is probably borrowed from the Papuan may be seen by comparison with the Koiari and Koita.

	Koiar	i, ada,	hand.	Ko	ita, ome	, head	
My hand			di-ada-kero.	My head			di-omo- te .
Thy hand			ai-ada-kero.	Thy head			ai-omo- te .
His hand		9.9	eke-ada-kero.	His head			au-omo-te.

For the general possessive suffixes kero and te of the Koiari and Koita, the Melanesians have substituted the proper personal suffixes, but the personal pronoun is prefixed as in the Papuan. The Koiari di-ada-kero is literally translated, I-hand-of, the Motu lau-nima-gu, I-hand-my.²

When not used with names of parts of the body and relationships the pronouns are suffixed to certain nouns indicating the nature of the thing possessed, or the degree in which it is related to the possessor. In the Melanesian languages of New Guinea two of these nouns are found. One is used only with property possessed, the other with food. The former is always ge, ke, or e, and corresponds to the Fiji ne, Florida ni. The second form, used with food is ga, ka, or a, and is identical with the noun used in the same sense throughout Melanesia.³

The Melano-Papuan languages of the Louisiades appear to follow the same rule as the Melanesian but the examples are not very clear. In Nada, however, my banana is togu bula mūila, in Murua ag eusi egu, and my mat in Kiriwina is ramoi egu. In these bula, togu, and egu, seem to show possessive nouns, in the two latter with suffix.

¹ These three examples chosen from very different parts of Melanesia show how closely the New Guinea Melanesian languages may be compared with those of the islands, and form a strong argument in favour of a common origin.

² There is, however, a possibility of the pronoun being used by a native before the noun by way of explanation to one ignorant of the language, i.e., in speaking to a foreigner, he will say, me, my hand, or me, my banana, in order to emphasize the person possessing

sise the person possessing.

3 Cf. Codrington, "Melanesian Languages," p. 128.

⁴ Bula in the New Hebrides is often used as a possessive word, "Melanesian Languages," p. 131.

In the Papuan languages there are apparently no suffixed pronouns. The personal pronouns are put into the possessive, and other cases by suffixes which are often the same for all persons and numbers. The pronoun is in fact treated as a noun. The following examples of possessives are found in the Annual Reports and the Reading books:—

		Saibai.	Kiwai.	Mirian	a.	Motumotu.
\ My \\ Thou \\ Thy \\ He \\ His \\ Our \\ You \\ Your \\ They	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	 nga-i ngi ngi ngi nu no-i no-ngo ngoi ngita-mun tana tana-mun	mo mo-ro ro ro-ro nou nou-na nimo nimo-na nigo nigo-nai nei nei-nai	 ka ka-ra ma ma-ra e aba-ra keriba keriba waba waba wiaba wiaba	•••	ara-o. ara-ve. a-o. are-ve. are-o. are-ve. ero-ve. e-o. e-ve. ere-o. ere-ve.

		Koiari.		Koita.		Domara.		Mairu.
I My Thou Thou He His We Our Your Your They	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	da da iero a exerco eke eke-ero n-oikoa n-iero ya-ne yabu-ia yabu-ia		da da-iraki a-na a-ieraki au au-ieraki no-kaki no-iraki ya-na ya-iaraki eau-kaki		ategi-ena gea keke-na gana		ia. i-na. ga. ga-na. ateg. ategi-ena. kea. keke-na. aea. aea. oma.

The full declension of the pronoun (and the noun) by means of suffixed particles is certainly found in the Saibai, Kiwai, and Miriam. It has probably not been expected in the other Papuan vocabularies and therefore does not appear in the examples given. As it exists in those better known it probably exists in all.

In the singular number the Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai cases are found as follows:---

		Saibai.	Kiwai.	Miriam.
ı		 ngai	 mo	 ka.
of me		 ngau	 moro	 kara.
to me		 ngaeapa	 morogido	 karim.
me		 ngona	 mo	 kare.
from me		 ngaungu	 morogaut	 karielam.
with me		 ngaibia	 morogomoa	 karedog.
by me		 ngato	 _	_
Thou		 ngi	 ro	 ma.
of thee		 nginu	 roro	 mara.
to thee		 ngibepa	 rorogido	 marim.
thee		 	ro	 mare.
from thee		 nginungu	 rorogaut	 marielam.
with thee		 ngibia	 rogomos	 maredog.
by thee		 ngidö	 -	_
Не		 noi	 nou	 e.
of him		 nonga	 nouna	 abara.
to him	1	 nubepa	 nougido	 abim.
him		 noino	 nou	 abi.
from him		 nungungu	 nougaut	 abielam.
with him		 nubia	 nogomoa	 abidog.
by him		 noidö	 -	_

There is no declension by suffixed particles in any Melanesian language, unless the Savo of Solomon Islands, a language already noted as different in many respects to its neighbours, be regarded as an exception. This language has in the possessive the appearance of a suffix :-

I	 ai, agni.	Thou	 no.	He	 	lo.
My	 ai-va.		 no-va.	His	 	lo-va.
Mine	 agnia.	Thine	 noa.	His	 	loa. ¹

These should be compared with the Motumotu.

The interrogative pronouns in the Melanesian languages of New Guinea are the same as in the island languages, Who? being usually some form of Sei (dai, rai, lai, eai, kai, tai), and What? some form of Sava² (daka, raha, raga, saha, kava, tara).

In the Papuan languages these pronouns have (as far as they are known) different forms. In Saibai, Miriam, and Kiwai they are declined by suffixes as nouns.

3. Adjectives.—The vocabularies give few examples of adjective constructions in the Papuan languages, but in Saibai, Kiwai,

Melanesian Languages," p. 561.
 Melanesian Languages," p. 133.

Miriam, and Motumotu, the adjective precedes the noun. In the Melanesian tongues, both of New Guinea and the islands, the adjective follows. The adjectival termination ga, common in the Solomon Is., Banks Is., and New Hebrides, as ga, gi, a, a, ha is found in the Motu, Bula'a, and Sinaugolo, as ka; au-ka, hard (au, wood); pou-ka, rotten (pou, to ferment). The adjectival prefix ma is also found in Motu.

The word equivalent to the English "alone," "by one's self," is in the Motu, Keapara, and Kerepunu, as in the island languages, a noun used with suffixed pronouns (my, thy, his

lone).

Compare the following examples from all parts of Melanesia.

Motu.		Aurora Is., Maewo.	Malekula Pangkum	Efate.		
sibo-gu sibo-mu sibo-na	0.	tabu-k tabu-nga tabu-na		jombo-g jombo-m jombo-n	••	tuma-gu. tuma-mu tuma-na.

Keapara and		Solomon Is.,			Solomon Ts.,		Espiritu Santo	
Kerepunu.		Florida.			Isabel.		Tangoa.	
gereha-gu gereha-mu gereha-na		hege-mu	• •		hege-gu hege-mu hege-gna		kase-ku. kase-m. kase-na.	

In the vocabularies the Aroma kereka-na, Kabadi sipo-na, Maiva kipo-na, with the suffix of third person, show that those dialects follow the same use.

4. Verbal Forms.—The verb in the Melanesian languages of British New Guinea presents a close analogy to that of the islands. A verb is distinctly pointed out as such by a particle, varying (as in the Solomon Is.) with each person and number. This particle has no temporal force and the exact time requires definition by an adverb.

The simple forms found in New Guinea are the following:-

	8	Singular		Plural.					
	1.	2.	3.	(inclusive)	1 (exclusive).	2.	3.		
Mekeo	 a	0	e	_	ina	ino	e.		
Maiva	 na	ko	e		_	_	e.		
Nala	 ba	bo	be		ba	bo	be.		
Motu	 na	0	e	ta	a	0	e.		
Bula'a	 a	0	e	e	a	io	ie.		
Keapara	 a	0	e	e	a, ga	go	ge.		
Kerepunu	 -	-	6		-	_	ge.		
Sinaugolo	 a	0	e	_	ga	go	ge		
Sariba	 ya	ku	ye	ta	_	kwa	se.		
Suau	 ea	u, ue	ie,i	ta	aie	au, aue	si, se.		
Dobu	 ea	и	i	ta	-	ua	8i.		
Nada	 e. a	ku, a	i	ta, te	_	mi, i	8i, i.		

There is a general agreement in the forms of the particles, but with the exception of the Motu, they have not been thoroughly

understood and require further and closer study.

The transitive suffixes, so characteristic of the island languages have not been noticed in the Motu grammar, but their existence is apparent in the vocabulary. Transitive verbs have the endings, a, i, ba, bai, nai, lai, rai, tai, which in form and use seem to represent the Melanesian transitive suffixes. Examples are: rogea, to store in a roge (storehouse); guguba, to hold tightly, gugubaia, to break it by holding tightly (gugu, to clasp); alaia, to kill him (alala, war); lou, to return, lou laia, to return it; ahedinaraia, to confess it, expose it; aheqaqanaia, to cause him to stumble, pipitaia, to wipe it out with the forefinger.

In New Guinea personal pronouns are suffixed to the verbs

as in the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides.

The causative prefix is vaha, va, ha, veba, he. (The vaka, va of the island languages) Keapara vaha-ripa, Motu ha-diba ia, Kerepunu vaa-riba, Bula'a va-dipa, Aroma veba-riba, Kabadi va-isa-va-isa, Suau he-ata, to teach, cause to know (diba, riba, dipa, isa, ata, to know).

^{1 &}quot;Lai or rai with the suffix of the person added to the verb denotes the instrumental with or objective at." "Sometimes it means of." (Lawes' "Motu Grammar," p. 11). The examples given are Dabua hurilaia ranu; ia niu ta lau koilaigu; umui lau kirikirilaigu, which would be literally "clothing wash-with-it water; he coconut-one me deceive-by-me; you me laugh-at-me." The suffixes lai and rai (in Kerepunu lagi, ragi) are here very like the Melanesian laki, raki, which serve to determine the action of the verb upon its object. Another example given is koau, to speak, koaulaia, to speak of or about it.

The reciprocal prefix is he, or ve (the island vei). Motu headava, Keapara ve-arawa, Kerepunu ve-arava, Aroma be-garawa, &c., to marry, to be husband and wife (adava, arava, &c.) to one another.

The Papuan verb cannot be discussed, as nothing is known of its details beyond the fact of its possessing very complicated forms similar to those of the Australian languages. In the Torres Straits languages which have been discussed elsewhere by Professor Haddon and the writer, it appears that relations of place are indicated by the verbal forms.1

The agreements of the Melanesian languages of New Guinea with those of the islands need not be discussed in further detail They can be found in every section of the Grammar, and enough has been brought forward to justify the classification made in the former part of this paper. The argument sustained by the grammar can be strengthened by an examination of vocabularies and for this purpose a short list of New Guinea words is appended for comparison with the list in Dr. Codrington's "Melanesian Languages2" and with my own vocabularies from the New Hebrides.3

A comparison shows:

- 1. That the commonest words in the New Guinea languages which are here called Melanesian are also the commonest words in the island languages:—Bird, manu; blood, rara; bone, suri or turi; butterfly, bebe; ear, talinga4; father, tama; hand, ima, nima; house, ruma, numa; leaf, rau; louse, kutu; man, ta, tau; moon, bula, vula; mother, sina, ina; nose, isu, udu; star, visiu; sun, alo, sina5; tongue, mea, mala; tree, kai; water, vai, bei, ranu; woman, vavine.
- 2. That apparent exceptions and compounds are also Melanesian: - Rovorovo for bird is, in the islands, as well as in New Guinea, a verb, to fly. Nawarai for moon in Eastern New Guinea is na warowaro m Malanta. The Sariba ta-moui, man, is probably the Efate New Hebrides ta-moli, the ordinary man, not a ta-mate, dead man or ghost, New Guinea tau-mate.
- 3. That in a few cases where a Melanesian word appears in

¹ See "Study of Languages of Torres Straits," part I, p. 539.

Melanesian Languages," pp. 39-52.
 S. H. Ray: "Sketch of Api Grammar," in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xviii, 1889, p. 302, and "Languages of New Hebrides." "Proceedings of Roy. Soc. of N. S. Wales," 1893.

⁴ These words illustrate a common sound-change between the New Guinea and island languages. By the loss of ng and l, talinga and vula become taia, or kaia; ua or bua.

The island s usually becomes d in New Guinea.

a Papuan list it is always in the same form as in the nearest Melanesian tongue, and hence is probably a loan word. In many cases its insertion may be due to the Melanesian medium through which the vocabu-

lary was obtained.

Examples are seen in the Domara and Mairu words for bird, blood, butterfly, hand, star, and sun, manu, rara, bebe, ima, visiu, nina. With the exception of the two last these agree with the neighbouring Aroma dialect. Visiu and nina may be due to the interpreter's knowledge of Motu, now almost a Lingua Franca on

the south-eastern shores of New Guinea.1

4. The Melanesian numerals of New Guinea fully illustrate the chapter on Numeration in Dr. Codrington's work.2 The root forms for the numerals from two to five are: rua, koi or toi for tolu, vasi or vai for vati, ima for lima or nima. Higher numbers than five are expressed by addition, or by a prefixed form of the word taura, which may be compared with the Banks' Island tuara, a corresponding one, a fellow, so that taura-toi for "six" literally means the "corresponding three," i.e., on another hand.

The numeral for one is in some dialects sega, the sikai of the islands, with a prefix ka as in the New Hebrides. In other cases the word given is apparently an ordinal, "first one," as in Kabadi ka-pea, in Efate New Hebrides, pea, first; Motu, ta-mona, Banks' Islands, moai, first. The Papuan numeration is on the level of the Australian, and rarely goes beyond two. When higher numerals are found they are either translations of Melanesian

expressions, or loan words.

I do not propose to make any remarks this evening upon the customs of the New Guinea races. So far as I have been able to examine the very meagre accounts which we possess of the habits and customs of the people, they appear to confirm the distinctions which, based only upon the language, I have endeavoured to set before you. On some other occasion I hope to bring forward some evidence with regard to customs which will show that the Motu and allied tribes, as well as the Melanesians of South and East Capes, are connected with the island populations, though constant intercourse between Papuans and Melanesians for many generations have no doubt resulted in a partial assimilation.

2 "Melanesian Languages," pp. 220-251.

¹ That errors will creep into vocabularies by this means is seen in Macgregor's "Kiwai Vocabulary" (Report on New Guinea, 1890), where the Motu hanuaboi is given for 'night' instead of the native term duo.

In conclusion, two other matters may be briefly referred to. One relates to the *place* whence the Melanesian immigrants into New Guinea originally came, and the other to the *direction* in which the migrations of the Oceanic and Polynesian races have

taken place.

With regard to the place of origin of the Melanesian population of New Guinea, it does not seem possible to ascertain the exact quarter from which it has come. There is at first sight much dissimilarity between the languages west and east, between the Motu and Kerepunu on the one side, and the Suau of South Cape on the other. Though this dissimilarity disappears on closer examination it may be stated that the language of Suau appears very similar to those of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands, which lies almost due east of South Cape. The Motu and Kerepunu agree more with the languages of the Efate district in the Central New Hebrides.

In reference to the direction of Oceanic migrations the results here set forth are instructive. If the Melanesians, and by inference the Polynesians, were immigrants into the island region the stream of immigration flowed north of New Guinea and not via Torres Straits. Melanesians, like those of the islands, have not occupied the western shores of the Papuan

Gulf.

The classification of New Guinea races proposed here may hereafter require modification, especially with regard to the very imperfectly understood Papuan tongues, which may perhaps be found more closely connected with the Australian than is now apparent. Their complicated structure is against the cultivation of any of them as a means of communication with the natives. Their difference, and the limited area they occupy, act in the same direction. The outlook for the student is not promising, as most of the mission work among the tribes is that of native teachers, Polynesians or Melanesians, whose native idioms are so very different to the Papuan, that the translations made by them can hardly be depended upon.

It is doubtful whether any accurate scientific data will be forthcoming unless an investigation is made similar to that undertaken by the British Association in North-West Canada. Science owes much to the labour and care of Sir William Macgregor in obtaining information upon the languages and customs of New Guinea natives, but there is still a large amount of information required. This will necessitate patient and

laborious investigation.

In the Appendix, consonants are sounded as in English, the vowels as in German. For comparison, the equivalents are given in: Nufür, Dutch New Guinea, Jabim, German New Guinea, and in Buka, Alu, and Savo, Solomon Islands.

APPENDIX-COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF NEW GUINEA DIALECTS.

			1. Bird.		2. Blood		Bone.		4. Butterf	ly.	5. Ear.
1.	Mekeo	••	nge'i, inquei		ifā		ungia	••	fefe		aina.
9)	Maiva		rovorovo		aruaru		uria		peroper	0	haia.
	Laval		raborabo	1			****		ibibi		haia.
	Nala		manu		lala		kulia		ebebe		kaia.
	Kabadi.		manu		rara		kuri		poióo		kai.
	Doura		komatar		lala		kuria		meabine		kaia.
	Motu		manu		rara		turi		kaubebe		taia.
	Hula		-		-		_		A 44 4 5 C S C		_
	Bula'a		manu		rala		iliga		pepe		kea.
	Keapara	0.0	manu	**	lala	• •	-		Pepe		eha.
	Kerepunu	0.0	manu	**	rala		iligā		bebe '		eha.
	Aroma		manu		rara	-	iliga		pepe		ega.
	Sinaugolo		manu	- 1	lala	•••	turiga		kaubeb		sega.
	Tarova	0.0	manu		lala	-	turiga		kaubebe		sega.
	Sariba		roro	• •	kuasi	• •	siria		bebe		bea.
		0.0	1010		A title o	• •	007 000		0000		teina.
	Mugula	* *	am ama		osisi		siata		bebe		bea.
	Suau Brumer Is.		manu	• •	08181	• •	35000		bebi	• •	bea.
	Wari		_						0601	••	oeu.
	Awaiama		manu-		tara		geami		kapeu		taniga.
	77 . 6		digudig	26							
	East Cape		-		_		1.1.		-		
22.	Dobu		manua	• •	rara	••	lulu	•••	pepe-k	wa	tena.
23.	Kiriwina		manua		buiawi	• •	-		beba		teiga.
24.	Murua		mān		buiavi		tatua		bebi		tega.
25.	Nada	0.0	mānŭ		buïāi		tatuwa		beba		tina.
	Misima		kahin		maiya		tuatua		bebebi		tanan.
27.	Tagula		ma		madib		waknia		bebi		enowa.
28.	Roua	0.0	-		_				_		ngoada.
29.	Saibai		urui		kulka		ridö		paika		kaura.
30.	Dabu	• •	papa	• •	mem, n	am	kut	• •	papap		ran, ika.
31	Mowat		hologo		arima	• •	oro		-	jun	epate.
	Kiwai		wowogo		arima	• •	soro		1		gare, sepate
	Miriam		ebur		mam		lid				laip, gerip
	Tumu		6007	• •	1000000	• •		• •	boiboi		kwopāti.
	Evorra		I -				_		boiboi		kapara.
	Toaripi		ori		ovo .		uti			•••	kirori.
	Elema	• •			-	• •	-	• •	bibi	•••	avato.
	. Motumotu	0 0	ori	• •	ovo		uti				kirori.
	. Koiari		ugu	**	tago						ifiko.
	Eikiri		ugu	• •	tagho		4: 17 -		7 .		ipiko.
	. Koita		uguva		tago	• •	1	• •	2 2	ka	ihiko.
	. Maiari		uku	• •	tao	* *			7		iika
	. Favere			• •	tagho	• •			1 2		4
	Kupele			• •	aghove		9 .				
	. Meroka	9.0	0	• •			7 .			• •	
	. Kabana		1 7	la.	tanara		2 .		. 2		
	. Manukoliu								2 2		abi.
	. Domara				1	ara		ita	bebe		
					lala		1				1
	. Mairu		manu		rara		kita		bebe		obe.

		1. Bird.		Blood	l.	3. Bone	4. Butterfly.	5. Ear.
0. Nufor	• •	 mān	••	riek		kor	 apop	knasi.
1. Jabim		 mo		de		_	molilip	tangeiu.
2. Buka		 kala		rehetsin	g	silo		dalinga.
3. Alu		 maraka						tana.
4. Savo				gabu		torolo	 bebe-ula	tanggalu.

			6. Fathe	r.	Hand,	ırm.	8. House	e.	9. Leaf.		10. Louse.
1.	Mekeo	••	ama	••	imau d		e'a	• •	aung ă aunga		u'u.
2.	Maiva		hama		ima		itu		rau		uhu.
	Laval		hama		ima		itu				-
4.	Nala		gama		ima		luma		uana		uku.
5.	Kabadi		auana		ima		ruma		meka		amuni.
	Doura		kama		ima		ruma		ran		uku.
	Motu		tama		ima		ruma		rau		utu.
-	Hula		ama		gima		numa		-		
9.	Bula'a		ama		gima		numa		lau		gu.
	Keapara		ama		gima		numa		lau		3
	Kerepunu		ama		gima		numa		lau		gu.
	Aroma		ama		ima		numa		rau		W.
	Sinaugolo		tama		ima		numa		lau		gutu.
	Tarova.		tama		ima	-	numa		ran		ghutu.
	Sariba		tama		nima	••	numa	• •	lugu	• •	tuma.
	Mugula		047760	**	nemet	••	76117/64		cuyu	• •	tuma.
	Suau		tama		nima		numa		lau		tuma.
	Brumer Is.	• •	sibawa	**	nima		maia		can		cuma.
-	*** :	• • •	tama	• •	nıma	**	mara		_		_
				••							
	Awaiama		tama		nima		numa		rugu		utu
	East Cape	• •	ama				_				
2.	Dobu	• •	tama	••	nima	•••	апиа	• •	iawana	•••	utu.
23.	Kiriwina		tama		ima		bwala		egavan	a	kutu.
24.	Murua		tama		nima,		bwani		iganak	ai,	kuti.
٠					kataj	oue			igeven yakvi		
25.	Nada		tama		nima		koba		kulaoa		kutu.
26.	Misima		tama	• •	nima		limi		waruw	aru	gaga
27.	Tagula		rama		nima		gola		ubadan	na.	roi
	Roua	**	_		bwoa,		ngoa		-		-
29.	Saibai		baba, t	ati	getö	••	lagö		nīs		ari, supa
	Dabu		baba	••	tangko		ma		oropop		bunmet,
	200	•••	0.000	••	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		,,,,,,		oropop		koban.
31.	Mowat	• •	baba	• •	tuo, tu	pata			_		-
20	Kiwai		alone 1	-2-	Au.		darim				
		• •	abera, b				moto		pasa		nimo.
	Miriam	• •	baba, a	oa	tag		meta	9.9	lam	• •	_
	Tumu		_		see		_		kiwā	••	_
	Evorra	• •	_		ěbi		. —		imăra	• •	-
56.	Toaripi		oa		mai		uvi		toro		dia.

		6. Fathe	er.	7. Hand, a	ırm.	House	se.	9. Leaf.		10. Louse.
37. Elema		uika		bai		pura		_		_
38. Motumotu		oa		mai		uvi		toro		ape.
9. Koiari		mame		ada		yaga		fana		umu.
O. Eikiri		mame		ada		iaka		fana		umu.
1. Koita		mame		ada		yaga		hanaka		umu.
2. Maiari		mamak		ada		inga		hana		1170 W.
3. Favere		mamak		ada		iūka		hana		umu.
4. Kupele		moia		ada		iaga		susu		umu.
5. Meroka.		noia		ada		iaga		8U8U		umu.
16. Kabana		babe		iaruse		ema		idurutu	::	hi.
7. Manukoliu		makara		evere		nehe	- 1	evarau		nomone.
18. Domara		abai		ima		uru	• •	anabeko		tuma.
49. Mairu		ana:		imana	1	1		bega		
by. Mairu	•••	apai	**	ima-pa	oa	huru	**			noga.
50. Naför		kama		rwasi	• •	rum		raim	• •	uk, snu.
ol. Jabim		tama		lema		andu,	be	kalaun		tum.
52. Buka		tama		lima	• •	luma	• •	kala		autu.
53. Alu	• •	apa	• •	ime	• •	numa, falef	ale	loiloi	• •	_
54. Savo		mao	••	kakau		tuvi	**	kiba		dole.
										1
		11. Man		Moon		13 Moth		14. Nose		15. Star.
1 Makaa		Man	_	Moor	n.	Moth	er.	Nose	_	Star.
1. Mekeo		Man	••	Moor	n.	Moth	er.	Nose	**	Star.
2. Maiva		Man au hau	•••	Moor	n.	ina hina	er.	Nose kua itu	•••	Star.
2. Maiva 3. Laval	**	Man au hau hau	**	ngava naoa	n.	ina hina hina	er.	kua itu ichu		Star. bi'iu vihiu.
 Maiva Laval Nala 	**	Man au hau hau kau	••	ngava naoa bula	n.	ina hina hina sina	er.	Nose kua itu ichu idu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu.
 Maiva Laval Nala Kabadi 	••	Man hau hau kau kau	••	ngava naoa bula	n.	ina hina hina sina aida		Nose. kua itu ichu idu itu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu.
 Maiva Laval Nala Kabadi Doura 	••	Man au hau hau kau kau kau	••	ngava naoa bula ue huia	n.	ina hina hina sina aida sina	er.	Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu.
 Maiva Laval Nala Kabadi Doura Motu 	••	Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau	•••	ngava naoa bula	n.	ina hina hina sina aida sina sina	er.	Nose. kua itu ichu idu itu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula	••	Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau	•••	ngava naoa bula ue huia hua	n.	ina hina hina sina aida sina sina sina ina	ier.	Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu udu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu.
2. Maiva	•••	Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau au	**	mgava naoa bula ue huia hua	n.	Moth ina hina hina sina aida sina sina ina ina	ier.	Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu.
2. Maiva		Man au hau hau kau kau kau kau au au	•••	mgava naoa bula ue huia hua bue bue	n.	Moth ina hina hina sina aida sina sina ina ina		Nose kua itu ichu ichu idu itu ururu ururu udu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 0. Keapara 11. Kerepunu		Man au hau hau kau kau kau au au au hau	•••	ngava naoa bula ue huia hua bue bue vue	n.	moth ina hina sina aida sina sina ina ina ina ina ina		Nose kua itu ichu ichu idu itu ururu ururu udu iru		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 0. Keapara 1. Kerepunu 12. Aroma		Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau au au au au		mgava naoa bula ue huia huia bue bue vue bue	n.	ina hina hina sina aida sina sina ina ina ina ina		Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu. biu.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 10. Keapara 11. Kerepunu 12. Aroma 13. Sinaugolo		Man au hau kau kau kau tau au au au au tau au tau	•••	mgava naoa bula ue huia huia bue bue cue bue guve	n.	ina hina hina sina aida sina sina ina ina ina ina ina ina ina		Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru ilu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. disiu. gibu. gibu. givu. biu. visigu.
2. Maiva		Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau au au au tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia huia bue bue bue guve ueva	n	moth hina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina ina ina		Nose kua itu itu ichu idu itu uvuru udu iru itu iru itu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu. biu. visigu. visigu.
2. Maiva		Man au hau kau kau kau tau au au au au tau au tau	•••	mgava naoa bula ue huia huia bue bue cue bue guve	n	ina hina hina sina aida sina sina ina ina ina ina ina ina ina		Nose kua itu itu ichu idu itu unuru udu iru ilu iru ilu iru isu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. gibu. gibu. gibu. giv. biu. visigu.
2. Maiva		Man au hau hau kau kau tau au au hau au tau tau tau tamoai		mgava naoa bula ue huia huia bue bue vue bue guve ueva waiken		Moth ina hina hina aida sina sina ina ina ina ina sina sina si	er.	Nose kua idu idu idu idu idu idu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru isu ishu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. gibu. yisigu. visigu. kipuara.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 10. Keapara 11. Kerepunu 12. Aroma 13. Sinaugolo 44. Tarova 15. Sariba 16. Mugula 17. Suau		Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau au au au tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia huia bue vue bue guve weva waiken navalau		Moth ina hina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina sina sina sin	er.	Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru ishu ishu isu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu. biu. visigu. visigu.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 9. Bula'a 0. Keapara 1. Kerepunu 12. Aroma 13. Sinaugolo 4. Tarova 16. Mugula 17. Suau 18. Brumer Is.		Man au hau hau kau kau kau au au au tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia huia hua bue vue bue guve neva waiken navalai nowara		Moth ina hina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina sina sina sin	er	Nose kua idu idu idu idu idu idu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru isu ishu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. gibu. giou. biu. visigu. visigu. kipuara.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 10. Keapara 11. Kerepunu 12. Aroma 13. Sinaugolo 14. Tarova 15. Sariba 16. Mugula 17. Suau 18. Brumer Is. 19. Wari		Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau au au au tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia hua bue bue bue guve ueva waiken navalan nowaya waiken	i	Moth ina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina sina sina sin	er	Nose kua itu itu ichu idu itu uvuru udu iru ilu iru ilu iru isu ishu ishu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. giou. bisu. visigu. visigu. kipuara.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 0. Keapara 11. Kerepunu 2. Aroma 3. Sinaugolo 4. Tarova 5. Sariba 6. Mugula 7. Suau 8. Brumer Is. 9. Wari 20. Awaiama		Man au hau hau kau kau tau au au tau tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ue huia huia huia bue sue bue guve weva waiken navala nowara nawara	i ii aa	Moth ina hina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina sina sina sina si	er.	Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru ishu ishu isu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu. bisu. visigu. visigu. kipuara. ibora.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 10. Keapara 11. Kerepunu 12. Aroma 13. Sinaugolo 4. Tarova 15. Sariba 16. Mugula 17. Suau 18. Brumer Is.		Man au hau hau kau kau kau tau au au au tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia hua bue bue bue guve ueva waiken navalan nowaya waiken	n	Moth ina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina sina sina sin	er	Nose kua itu itu ichu idu itu uvuru udu iru ilu iru ilu iru isu ishu ishu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. gibu. giou. biu. visigu. visigu. kipuara.
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 0. Keapara 1. Kerepunu 2. Aroma 3. Sinaugolo 4. Tarova 5. Sariba 6. Mugula 17. Suau 8. Brumer Is. 19. Wari 10. Awaiama 21. East Cape 22. Dobu		Man au hau kau kau kau au au au tau tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia huia hua bue bue guve weva waiken navala nowara waiken nawara nawara	i i	Moth ina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina sina sina sin	er.	Nose kua itu itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru ish ish ish uishu ubusu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu. biu. visigu. visigu. kipuara. ibora. gamaiaw kwadima
2. Maiva 3. Laval 4. Nala 5. Kabadi 6. Doura 7. Motu 8. Hula 9. Bula'a 0. Keapara 11. Kerepunu 2. Aroma 3. Sinaugolo 4. Tarova 5. Sariba 6. Mugula 7. Suau 8. Brumer Is. 9. Wari 20. Awaiama 21. East Cape 22. Dobu 23. Kiriwina		Man au hau hau kau kau tau au au tau tau tau tau tau tau tau		Moon ngava naoa bula ue huia huia huia bue bue vue bue weva waiken nawala nowara nawara nawara tabuku	n	Moth ina hina hina sina sina sina ina ina ina sina sina	?)	Nose kua itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru iisu ishu ishu niu ubusu kabunu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. giou. biu. visigu. kipuara. ibora. gamaiaw kwadima utuam.
2. Maiva		Man au hau kau kau kau au au au tau tau tau tau tau tau tau		Mooi ngava naoa bula ne huia huia hua bue bue guve weva waiken navala nowara waiken nawara nawara	i ii aa iaa aawi aani anona	Moth ina hina sina aida sina ina ina ina ina ina sina sina sin	er.	Nose kua itu itu ichu idu itu ururu udu iru ilu iru ilu iru ish ish ish uishu ubusu		Star. bi'iu vihiu. visiu. visiu. bisiu. hisiu. gibu. gibu. givu. biu. visigu. visigu. kipuara. ibora. gamaiaw kwadima

		11. Man.	12. Moon.	13. Mother.	14. Nose.	15. Star.
26. Misima	**	gamagan	papahana,	ina	bohu	rarara.
07 T			waikeina	nana Alaa	buodu	
27. Tagula	• •	bi	wagina	nava, tina	niu	_
29. Saibai		mabaigö	mölpalö	ama, apu	piti	titoi.
30. Dabu		rabu	quar, quak	yai	murung	piro.
31. Mowat		arubi	gamuno	idababa	wādi	oroi.
32. Kiwai		dubu	sagana	aida, māū	wodi	gugi.
33. Miriam		le, kimiar.	meb	apu, amau	pit	uer.
34. Tumu		_	-		yu	_
35. Evorra		_	_	_	binā	_
36. Toaripi		karu	papari	lou	verape	koru.
37. Elema		bira	_	namweka.	evera	-
38. Motumotu		vita, karu	papare	lou	everape	koru.
39. Koiari		ata	bata	ine	uri	kolo.
40. Eikiri		ata	pata	neinaka	ghusa	koro.
41. Koita		ata	bata	neni	uri	vamomo.
42. Maiari		ata	pata	neinaka	gumavanu	koro.
43. Favere	••	ata	pata	neinaka	ghuma- havanu	koro.
44. Kupele		aau	paau	neia	ghusavanu	ora.
45. Meroka		ata	bāu	neia	ghusavaeru	oro.
46. Kabana		a	hama	mah'	unuga	hamadofee
47. Manukoliu		vaghe	patu	noka	iagore	boiova.
48. Domara		mariomnio	dovere,	adei	duruma	visiu.
			dowers			
49. Mairu	• •	-	tovere	atei	noga	idiu.
50. Nufor		snun-kaku	paik	ana	snori	ătaruwa.
51. Jabim		lau, na,	ayam	tena	lususu	ŭti.
52. Buka	••	tamata	iseho	tina	wesu, osu	pitopito,
53. Alu		tin kaniga	ilel, ilala .	unka	leo	bitobito.
54. Savo	**	mapa	kuge	mama	gnoko	simusimu.

	16. Sun.	Tongu	18. Tree.	Wate		Woman
1. Mekeo	 kina veraura biraura melala akona dina dina aro haro haro garo	 malā maea mala mala maa mala mae mae mae	 au atiu irauchi au	 vei vei vei vei vei vei ranu nanu nanu nanu nanu	•••	papië. vavine. babin. aate. vavine. ateate. haine. vavine. babine. vavine. babine. babine.

		16. Sun.	17. Tongue		18. Tree.		19. Water	.	20. Woman.
13. Sinaugolo		galo	mea	-	gau		nanu		vavine,
14. Tarova		gharo	mea	••	rako		nanu		varine.
15. Sariba		mahana	meme	**	kaiwa		waira		sine.
16. Mugula		mahana	mana	••	A GO SOCIO		0.017.0		othe.
0		mahana	meme		oeagi		goila		sine.
17. Suau 18. Brumer Is.		mahana	mime	••	madyu	••	goila		sine.
		dabelo	mime	•••	maays		waira	••	shine.
		kabudara					goira	**	wawine,
20. Awaiama	* *	Kaoudara	mena	••	roga	••	youru		sinasina.
01 Fact Come		kabudara	1			- 1	goira	1	wawine.
21. East Cape 22. Dobu			maia		kaiwe		boase	••	waine, ine.
22. Dobu		siara	meia	••	Autwe	• •	oouse	••	waine, inc.
23. Kiriwina		liliu	maie		kai		sopi		wiwila.
24. Murus			melene	••	kaiyau	• •	sopi, das	0 0 V 22./Z	vini.
37 3				••	săkweré		sopu	- 1	īna,
25. Nada		silasila	sapa	••	skeréu	w,	sopu	**	ina.
26. Misima.		hilahila	meimi		kabakil		weweil		yowau.
27. Tagula		varai	mami	::	rumbwa		buā		wevu.
28. Roua	**	varus	deŭ		7 41/10000	• •	mbua		bia.
20. Mous	• •	_	ueu.	••			monte	•	via.
29. Saibai		göiga	löia	• •	pui		nguki	• •	ipökazi.
30. Dabu		yabada	dogmar		ratira		ine		mure.
31. Mowat	0.9	ibiu	watotor				000		upi.
32. Kiwai		sai	watator	ope	ota		obo	••	upi.
33. Miriam		gerger	werut	• •	lu		ni		kosker.
34. Tumu		narā	_		ee		oo, nane	ı	wor.
35. Evorra		inamau- ipĕri	_		_		eri	••	. —
36. Toaripi		sare	uri		tora		ba, ma		ua.
37. Elema		sari	_		tora		ma		ua.
38. Motumotu		sare	tepa	• •	tora		ma		ua.
39. Koiari		vani	neme	• •	idi	• •	eita	• •	magi.
40. Eikiri		vani	nemeke	• •	idi		eita		maghi.
41. Koita		vani	mei	••	idi		eĕ		magi.
42. Maiari		vani			idi		ita	• •	mai.
43. Favere		nini	neme	• •	idi		eita		magi.
44. Kupele		vani	nemee	• •	idi		e		maghina.
45. Meroka		vani	nemu		idi	• •	e		magi.
46. Kabana.		_	asese	• •	ora		iuni	• •	amu.
47. Manukoliu		-	manane		ibado	• •	60	• •	none.
48. Domara		nina	_		ana		amamı		ause, aveta
49. Mairu	• •	nina	-		ana	**		,	avesa.
50. Nuför		ori	kaprēno	li	aip, aikn	am	wār		bien.
51. Jabim		abumtau-	impera	••	ka		bu	• •	palingo.
52. Buka		kotolun,	omea	••	orni	••	ramun,	gua	kau.
53. Alu		felo, isang	meata		au, aua		ateli		batafa.
54. Savo	• •	kuli	2 .		kola		piva		adoki.
O WW10 00			- Land				1		

		21. One.	22. Two.	23. Three.	Four.	25. Five.	26. Six.
1. Mekeo	••	angaong- amo,aungao	aungi	oio	pangi	ima'a aufaifufu	ngéa, nga.
2. Maiva		hamomona	rua	aihau	vani	ima	avaihau.
3. Laval		aia	rua	aita	bani	ima	abaraia.
4. Nala		kaonamo	lua	koi	vani	ima	kala-koi.
5. Kabadi		kapea	rua	koi	vani	ima	kara-koi.
6. Doura		kaona	lua	koi	hani	ima	5 + 1.
7. Motu		tamona	rua	toi	hani	ima	taura-toi.
8. Hula		koapuna	_	koi	vaivai	imaima	kaula-koi
9. Bula'a		ka,koapuna	lualua	koikoi	vaivai	imaima	kaua-koi.
10. Keapara	**	obuna	lualua	oioi	vaivai	imaima	aura-oi.
11. Kerepunu		obuna	lualua	oi	vaivai	imaima	aura-oi.
12. Aroma		obuna	lua	oi	baibai	imaima	aula-oi.
13. Sinaugolo		sebona	lualua	toitoi	vasivasi	imaima	5+1.
14. Tarova	• •	sebona	lualua	toitoi	vasivasi	imaima	taura-toi-
5. Sariba	• •	kesega	rabui	haiyona	hāsi	harigigi	5+1.
16. Mugula		-	-				-
17. Suau		esega	rabui	haiona	hasi	harigigi	5+1.
18. Brumer Is		teya	labui	haiyona	hasi	harigigi	5 + 1.
19. Wari		tea	rua	tolu	vas	valigigi	
20. Awaiama		emoti	ruaga	tonuga	wonepari	uritutu	_
21. East Cape			uwaga	tonuga	wakepage	uritutu	-
22. Dobu	• •	e-bwes	e-rua	e-to	a-ta	nima	nima-e- bweu.
23. Kiriwina		kwai-tala	kwai-yu	kwai-tono	kwai-vasi	kwai-nima	
24. Murua		koi-tan	kwe-yu	kwei-ton	kwei-vas	kwei-nim	koitan.
25. Nada		atanok	akwa-iu	akwai-tola	akwai-las	akwailima	_
26. Misima		maisena	rabui	etun	epat	nimazapa- nuna	5+1.
27. Tagula		rega	ren	goto	kovaru	golima	koona.
28. Roua	**	munda	miwa	pieli	bai	limi	wene.
29. Saibai	• •	urapon	ukasar	ukamodo- bigal	ukauka	ukauka modobai	-
30. Dabu		tupidibi	kumirivi	kumireriga	2+2	tumu	-
31. Mowat		4	_		_	_	_
32. Kiwai		1	netewa	2+1	2+2	2+2+1	2+2+2
33. Miriam			neisi	2+1	2+2	2+2+1	2 + 2 + 2
34. Tumu			_		-	_	_
35. Evorra		1	_	_		_	
36. Toaripi		0777	oraokoria	roisorio	2+2	be-falaheka	2+2+2
37. Elema			oraora	oroito		_	
38. Motumotu		0 7 7	oraokaria	oroisoria	2+2	2+2+1	
39. Koiari			abuti	2+1	2+2	2+2+1	2 + 2 + 2.
40. Eikiri	-		7	271	212	21211	ATATA.
11. Koita		7 7 .9	7	abigaga	abaabu	adakasiva	agorokive
12. Maiari			7 40	worgaya	douter	uuunusi eu	agorokit
43. Favere	• •		7 4"		_		
44. Kupele			2 .				
5. Meroka			7 .				
6. Kabana	**		2 .	2+1			
	**	1 7	7	2+1		-	
47. Manukoliu	-		aheu		4	-	7:7:
18. Domara	• •	1	awa	aisheri	taurai	ima	liliomo.
19. Mairu		omupua	ava	aisei	sourai	ima	ririomu.

			21. One.	Two.	23. Three	Э.	Four.	Four.			26. Six.
Nuför Jabim		••		dui luăgi, lu	kior tilia		fiak ali		riem lemeng	••	2
 Buka Alu	• •	• •	2 2 -7-		pisa e-pisa		hatsi e-fate		lima lima		mo-num
Savo					igiva		aga-va		ara .		pogoa.

The TIBETAN HOUSE-DEMON.

By Surgeon-Major L. A. WADDELL, F.L.S., F.R.G.S.

THE Tibetan house-demon is anthropomorphic, with a piggish head and flowing robes. He is called "the Inside-God" (Tibetan Nang-lha), and is a genius loci of the class called by the Tibetans the "Earth-masters" (sab-dag).

As he is of a roving disposition, occupying different parts of the house at different seasons, his presence is a constant source of anxiety to the householders; for no objects may invade or occupy the place where he has taken up his position, nor may it be swept or in any way disturbed without incurring his deadly wrath. Thus it happens that an unsophisticated visitor on entering a Tibetan house and spying a nice vacant place near at hand places there his hat; only, however, to have it instantly snatched up by his host in holy horror with the hurried explanation that the god is at present occupying that spot.

It is some satisfaction, however, to find that all the house-gods of the land regulate their movements in the same definite and known order. Thus:—

In the 1st and 2nd months the god occupies the centre of the house and is then called "the *gel-thung* housegod."

In the 3rd and 4th months he stands in the door-way and is called "the door-god of the horse and yak."

In the 5th month he stands under the eaves and is called "yangas-pa."

In the 6th month he stands at the south-west corner of the house.

In the 7th and 8th months he stands under the eaves.

In the 9th and 10th months he stands in the fire-tripod or grate.

In the 11th and 12th months he stands at the kitchen-

hearth where a place is reserved for him. He is then called "the kitchen-god."

His movements thus bear a certain relation to the season, as he is outside in the hottest weather and at the fire in the coldest.

Formerly his movements were somewhat different. According to the ancient style he used to circulate much more extensively and frequently, as follows:—

In the 1st month he dwelt on the roof for the first half of the month, and on the floor for the latter half. To repair the roof at such a time entails the death of the head of the family.

In the 2nd month he dwelt at the top of the stair. During this month the stair cannot be mended, else one of the family will surely die.

In the 3rd month he dwelt in the granary, during which month no alterations may be made, else all the grain will be bewitched and spoiled.

In the 4th month he dwelt in the doorway. Then the doorway cannot be mended or the absent member of the family will die.

In the 5th month he dwelt in the hand-corn-mill and in the water-mill. Then one cannot mend these or all luck departs.

In the 6th month he dwelt in any foxes' holes or rats' holes near the house. Then one cannot interfere with these holes otherwise a child will die.

In the 7th month he dwelt on the roof. Then one cannot repair it or the husband will die.

In the 8th month he dwelt in the wall-foundation. Then no one can repair it or a child will die.

In the 9th month he dwelt up the chimney. Then no one must repair it or the house will pass to a new owner.

In the 10th month he dwelt in the beams or standardposts. Then one cannot repair these or the house will collapse.

In the 11th month he dwelt underneath the fire-place.

Then one cannot repair it otherwise the housewife will die of hiccup or vomiting.

In the 12th month he dwelt in the stable. Then no one can repair or disturb it otherwise the cattle will die or be lost.

The other precautions entailed by his presence and the penalties for disturbing him are these: In the 1st and 2nd months, when the god is in the middle of the house, the

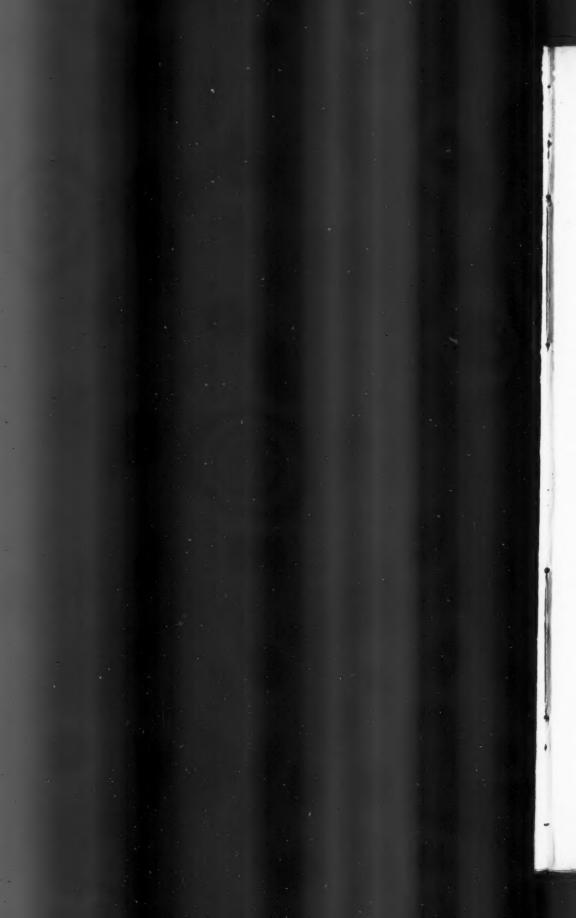




Egraph 1 - we

Fig. 1.





fire-grate must not be placed there, but removed to a corner of the room, and no dead body must be deposited there. While he is at the door, no bride or bridegroom may come or go, nor any corpse. Should, however, there be no other way of ingress or egress, such as by a window or otherwise, and there be urgent necessity for the passage of a bride, bridegroom, or corpse, then the images of a horse and a yak must be made with wheaten flour, and on each of those images is planted some skin and hair of each of the animals represented. Tea and beer are then offered to the god, who is invited to sit upon the images thus provided for him. The door is then unhinged and carried outside, the bride, bridegroom, or corpse passes and the door is restored to its place.

When he is at the kitchen fire no part of the hearth can be removed or mended, and no corpse may be placed there, nor must any marriage then take place. And should any visitor arrive he must be screened off from the fire-place by a blanket, and the "chhös-mge-khri" scripture read.

When he is in the verandah he gives very little trouble. Only at such a time no one may whitewash or repair the outside of the house.

Also as a precautionary measure once every year, and at extra times, whenever any suspicion arises that the god may have been slighted or is offended, it is necessary to get Lāma-priests to propitiate him by doing "The Water Sacrifice for the Eight Injurers."

Some Ancient Indian Charms, from the Tibetan.

By L. A. WADDELL.

[PLATE II.]

Many interesting survivals of archaic Indian customs, have been preserved by the Lāmas in their ritual based on Indian practices and their Tibetan translations of Indian Buddhist books. One such booklet on Talismans and Amulets is entitled "The Assembly of Lāmas' Hearts." It is in the hands of most Lāma-physicians, and contains many ancient Indian charms based on sympathetic magic, and probably survivals of Vedic times, when as Bergaigne has shown, sympathetic magic entered largely into the ritual, I here translate a few of these charms as a contribution to the subject of priestly magic.

The special charm consists of a monogram or mystic letter (Sanskrit Vija or "seed") as the germ of a spell or mantra.

This letter is in the old Indian Nagari character of about the fourth or fifth century A.D., and is inscribed in cabalistic fashion with the special materials as prescribed in the manual. In those instances where the letters are imperfectly formed and my reading therefore doubtful I have prefixed interrogative marks.

Charm against Weapon-Wounds (Fig. 2).—With the blood of a wounded man draw (the writing medium is not noted) the monogram Don and wrap in a piece of red cloth and tie with string and wear round neck on an unexposed part of breast next the skin and never remove it.

Charm against Leprosy.—On a piece of the bark of the poisonous laurel write with a mixture of the blood of the individual and the ulcerous discharge and urine of a leper the monogram (? CHCH) and wrap up and

tie, &c.

Charm for Clawing Animals (i.e., tigers, cats, bears (Fig. 3).—On a miniature knife write with a mixture of myrobalans and musk-water the monogram (?ZAH) and wrap up and tie, &c. (Here the knife seems to represent the animal's claw.)

For Dog-bite.—With the blood of a leopard write HRI and wrap within a piece of leopard skin and wear, &c.

(The leopard preys on dogs.)

For Poison.—With blood of a peacock write (? GRA) with the moustache of a hare and fold up with the feathers of an eagle or vulture and enclose in the stomach of a monkey and tie, &c. (This seems directed to

harmless digestion.)

For Domestic Bickering (Fig. 4).—Write the monogram (? RE) and bind by a thread made of the mixed hairs of a dog, goat, and sheep and enclose in a mouse-skin and tie, &c. (This seems to represent union of domestic elements.)
For External Quarrels.—With the blood of a bearded goat

write (? TAMGI) and wrap in a piece of horse's hide

and enclose in an otter's skin.

For Small-pox.—With the juice of the Som tree—(this may be the classic Soma, but the Tibetan translator notes that it is a pine-tree) write (?OM) and sprinkle over it some pulverized bone of a man who has died from small-pox, and tie, &c.

For Cholera (or "the vomiting, purging, and cramps," (Fig. 5)).—With the dung of a black horse, and black sulphur, and musk-water, write the monogram (? ZA) and fold in a piece of snake-skin and tie, &c. (The dung represents the purging, the horse the galloping course, the black colour the deadly nature, and the snake

the virulence of the disease.)

For Slander and Scandal.—With earth taken from the traveller's halting place (Sarai)-fire, or if not procurable, with some of the menses of a courtesan write the monogram (? ZOMA) and tie, &c. (Travellers' fires and courtesans are regarded as special centres for gossip and scandal.)

To Cleanse from Perjury.—Write (?SA) and fold up with the ear of a hare, the tongue of a hyæna and the ear of a sow, and wrap in a piece of the robe of an unburied corpse and wear it below the waist or in the

shoe.

For Bad Dreams (Fig. 6).—With the tears or urine of a person possessed of second sight, write the monogram ZI and bind up in a piece of the wearer's own cloth with one of his eyelashes and pass the parcel through the hands of persons of nine different castes or clans and tie, &c.

For Nāgas.—On a piece of birch-bark with a paste of musk and sweet marsh-flay and incense write S and wrap in a frog's skin and tie, &c. (Note the use of water-plant and frog's-skin in relation to deities of water—the Nāgas—and confer my paper on "Frog-Worship among the Newars" in "Indian Antiquary," 1893.)

For Bad Omens.—With the blood of an owl write the monogram (? AMRA) and bind it with a monkey's

hair in a piece of fox-skin and tie, &c.

For Lightning and Hail.—With human menstrual blood write (? GA or CHA) and bind it in a piece of the skirt of a widow.

For Fever.-With cold camphor and musk-water write

(? LO) and tie, &c.

For the Yaksha Goblins.—On a piece of red cloth write the monogram (?TI) and wrap up with filings of the five precious things and a small dough image of your enemy and wear it. (The Yaksha genii are associated

with wealth as well as injury.)

For Bad Plancts.—With the ashes of a cremated human corpse of a person who had died on an unlucky day (e.g., Sunday or Saturday) made into paste with water, write the monogram (?) and place it on a small sheet of copper which has been perforated in nine spots and wrap up with a small penile image and wear. (The nine

perforations represent the nine planets of Hindu Astronomy. This charm is very commonly worn in the Tsang province of Tibet.)

For Theft.—With the blood of a thief or a black dog write the monogram (? LI) and wrap inside a mouse-skin and tie to a post in the house. (The charm seems to be on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief.)

For Foul Smells.—On a piece of white cloth, with a paste of the six spices, write the monogram SAM and fold up and bind on the crown of the head. Then the kings of the ten directions will assist at causing the disappearance of the smells. (The principle seems to be purity and sweetness as a remedy for foulness.)

For Fire-side Cooking Smells Offensive to the House-gods (Fig. 7).—With the blood of a hybrid bull-calf write the monogram GAU (= cow) and fold it up in a piece of the skin of a hedge-hog.

With reference to this last charm it is noteworthy that in Western Aryan Myth, Hera the mother of Vulcan, the Greek hearth-god is in her form of Io represented by a cow.

MARCH 13TH, 1894.

Dr. E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

The election of Mr. J. J. ATKINSON, of Thio, New Caledonia, was announced.

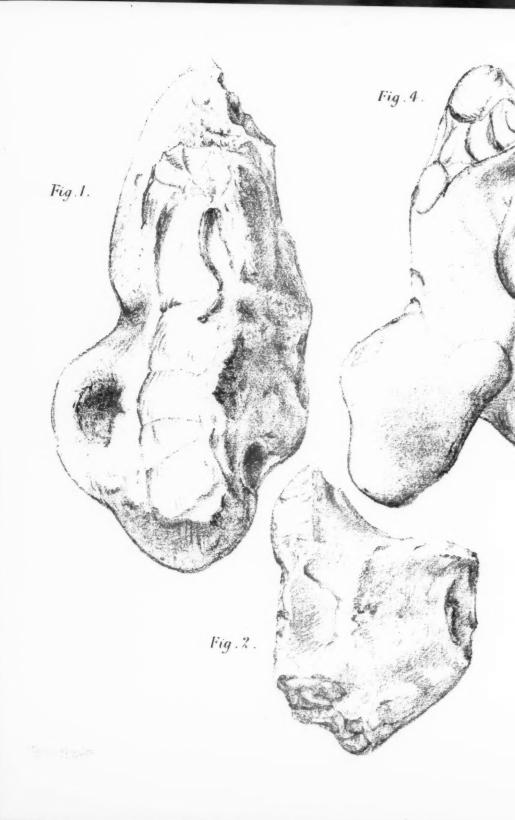
On FLINT IMPLEMENTS of a PRIMITIVE TYPE from old (preglacial) hill-gravels in Berkshire. By O. A. Shrubsole, F.G.S.

[PLATE III.]

In the rude implements, or alleged implements, found at high levels on the chalk downs of Kent, it is claimed that we get a stage beyond the paleolithic in the history of man in this country. In the present paper it is intended to give the result of the investigation of some high-level deposits in Berkshire.

¹ Vide Prof. Prestwich, "On the Primitive Characters of the Flint Implements of the Chalk Plateau of Kent." "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xxi, p. 246.









The deposits in question consist of gravel, having a thickness of from 5 to 10 feet, which covers the summit of an elongated plateau stretching from Easthampstead, Berks, to Ash Common, near Aldershot, at a general level of about 400 feet above the mean sea-level. It forms the highest ground between the rivers Wey and Blackwater. Similar gravel is found at a slightly lower level on the west side of the Blackwater River, forming Yateley Common and Hartford Bridge Flats; also at the top of isolated hills, as at Finchampstead Ridges. This extensive deposit is composed of the "Southern drift" of Philips1 and Prestwich²;—that is to say, with very rare exceptions, it contains no materials of extraneous or "northern" origin. The gravel is chiefly flint: a small proportion of fragments of chert, &c., connects it with the denudation of the Weald country lying to the south. It is more or less distinctly stratified. The flint material consists largely of entire nodules of very moderate size, and is usually stained internally of a brown colour. Much of it is impure and cherty.

The result of a careful examination of this gravel is here given. So far as present observation has gone, the common type of highly-finished palæolithic implements found in the valleys of the Somme, Thames, &c., does not occur here; the forms found being extremely rude and primitive. They may

be referred to three general types:—

1. Large implements with rounded butt.

2. Grooved or hollowed scrapers.

3. Fragments of flint worked at the point only.

1. The first type is represented at present by one specimen only. It was obtained from a gravel-pit on Finchampstead Ridges, near Wellington-College Station, at about 320 feet above sea-level, and is a massive pointed tool resembling in shape the ruder forms from the valley-gravels and the "nodule tools" of Kent's Cavern. It is slightly but distinctly worked. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the chipping has been intentional. But the rudeness of form is unquestionable. (See Fig. 1.)

2. The hollowed scrapers are here the most numerously

represented class of implement.

I have in a previous communication³ alluded to the frequency of the occurrence of such forms in the valley gravels. Here the scrapers are made out of any conveniently-shaped piece of flint, and not from flakes struck off for the purpose, and

^{1 &}quot;Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames."

[&]quot; Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.," vol. xlvi, p. 155.
" Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," Nov. 1884, p. 196.

represent, therefore, an earlier form of the type. We appear to have in these implements a primitive and very persistent type, having its origin in the use of any chance flat fragment of a hard substance for scraping some substance not so hard, as wood or bone; a type, indeed, which has come down to our own times in the occasional use of fragments of glass for scraping wood, but which may have come into use at the very dawn of man's intelligence, and may have been perhaps not altogether beyond the mental power of animals inferior to man. By continued scraping on a cylindrical object, the harder but more brittle substance would gradually acquire a hollow.

It seems clear that, at least in palæolithic times, the hollow was sometimes intentionally produced.

Figs. 2 and 3 are examples of these scrapers.

Fig. 3 might pass as a palæolithic form, but for the fact that the back is rough and unworked. Many of the flat ovoid implements from Amiens and other places have a similar groove or hollow in one edge. Fig. 5 is a scraper having the convex side cut so that it may more conveniently fit the hand.

The concave side is abraded as if by use.

3. The third type is represented by nodules or pieces of flint of moderate size and elongated form which have been simply whittled at one end to produce a point. This is so natural that we may well regard such forms as being essentially primitive, although it is a form which survived the primitive stage. It may, indeed, be suggested that such abrasions or fractures are the result of chance and not of intention. But natural agencies do not, as a rule, produce the smooth ripplemarked fractures shown in Fig. 4, nor do accidental abrasions usually tend to produce a point. It is a matter of common observation how frequently flint implements have the point either broken off or worn down. Nor is there any reason in the nature of things why one end only of a nodule should be chipped. It appears, therefore, to the writer that these instruments, although only slightly worked, exhibit marks of intentional chipping.

Taking the series as a whole it indicates a decidedly rudi-

mentary stage in the art of flint-working.

Throughout the gravel under observation none of the large artificial flakes, which are so common in the valley-gravels, have been found; nor are any of the instruments made from flakes. One very small flake only was observed. The idea is suggested that the people who used these implements were not adepts at working flint, but made search for fragments likely to answer their purpose, and modified these only so far as was

absolutely necessary. Of course it is conceivable that more highly finished implements may exist in the gravel, but so far, after several years' search, none such have come under the notice of the writer. It therefore seems highly probable that these implements are the work of an older race than

that which is associated with the pleistocene gravels.

One or two possible objections may be anticipated. It may naturally be asked whether the implements are of the same age (as implements) as the gravel of the plateau, or whether they may not be surface "finds." To this it may be sufficient to say that they were taken by the writer from gravel freshly fallen from the face of the pits or from the heaps of screened gravel in the pits, and that their mineral condition is such as to indicate that they have been buried in the gravel, and have formed a part of it. Or, again, it may be suggested that such forms may result naturally from stones rolling over or rubbing against other stones in a torrent-bed or on a sea-shore. A similar objection was once urged against all paleolithic implements. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect that forms so rude as those from the Berkshire plateau will have to pass through some ordeal before their genuineness is generally recognised. They are not elegant; and even experienced investigators will sometimes reserve their enthusiasm for specimens which are "large" or "perfect" or "beautifully worked." But, on the other hand, there is a strong a priori probability that ruder forms than the palæolithic implements exist somewhere. If not such as these, what forms are we to look for as specimens of man's earliest handiwork? And we know that stones may be thus chipped by artificial means; but we do not know that similar forms may be produced by natural agencies. So far, no similarly-chipped stones appear to have been found in breccias or pebble-beds of palæozoic or secondary age; nor am I aware of any examples that can be shown to be the result of recent fluviatile or beach action.1 I have examined ballast dredged from the present bed of the Thames, but have failed to find therein any evidence of stones wearing into the form of implements. A hollowed scraper was observed on a heap of river-ballast, but its mineral condition clearly showed that it had been derived from a hill-The ordinary effect of water-action is to round-off angles and irregularities. It is just conceivable that two stones might be wedged in a torrent-bed in such a position as that they might groove each other at the edge, but, if such an occurrence be possible, it must be unusual even in mountain

¹ For an instance of the erosion of stones in a weir by means of pebbles and current-action, see "Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.," vol. xlvii, p. 63.

regions; and there is nothing in the past physical condition of this district to suggest any such extraordinary action, and certainly not to the extent indicated. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the specimens referred to are of artificial origin. Doubt may be possible in regard to one specimen here or there, but, when the series is regarded as a whole, the evidence is very strong that it represents some of the earliest forms of human workmanship.

It is obvious that ordinary palæolithic implements are a long way from being primitive in character. They indicate considerable skill, an eye for form, and the acceptance of certain conventional types. Rude as man must have been in palæolithic times, there must have been a time when he was ruder still. Of such a time these high-level gravels may very

well have preserved the record.

With regard to the geological age of the gravel, as it rests upon beds of Upper Bagshot age it must be newer than those beds. Beyond this its precise horizon has to be inferred from its position and other considerations. It is generally, but not universally, regarded as fluviatile; on which supposition it would be the work of a stream which for a long time has ceased to exist, since its bed now occupies the summit of a hill-range, and on the sites of the former hills are now rivervalleys. Professor Prestwich is disposed to regard this gravel "to correspond broadly in time with the Chillesford, Forest Bed, and Westleton Shingle."

According to Dr. Irving "the deposition of these plateau gravels appears to have occupied a considerable portion (perhaps the whole) of the Pliocene period." The preglacial date of the gravel, as far as the writer knows, has been questioned by no

one.

The gravel of Finchampstead Ridges is about 80 feet lower in level than that of the main plateau. It may be somewhat later in age, but it has the same composition, and the whole forms one series. There is, also, no material difference in the types of the implements. Figs. 1 and 5 from Finchampstead are forms which at present have not been found in other parts of the district, and they are certainly suggestive of the paleolithic type. But so also is Fig. 3 from the main plateau.

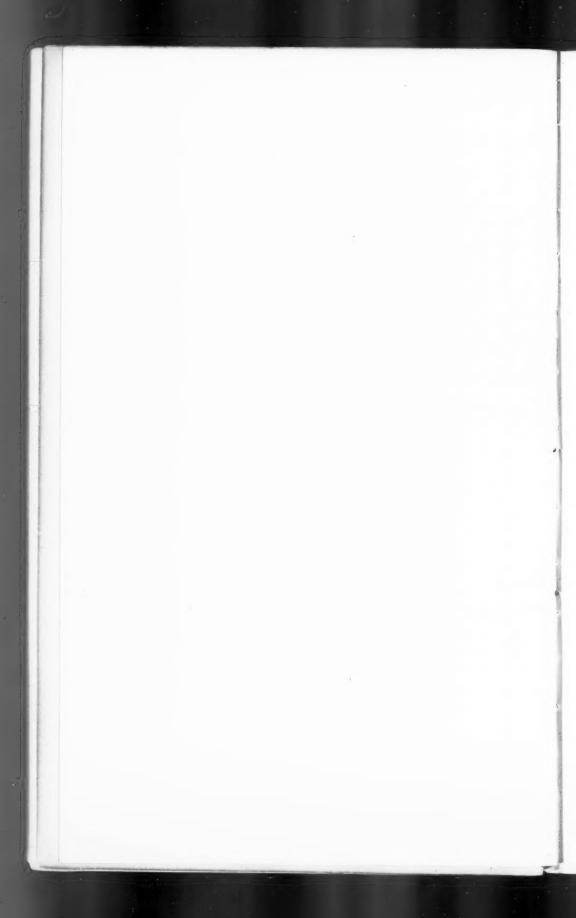
It has been stated that the implements—if we may conclude them to be such—form a part of the gravel of the plateau. They cannot, therefore, be later in origin than the date of the

2 "Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.," vol. xlvi, p. 174.

3 Ibid., vol. xlvi, p. 563.

¹ It is open to question whether the Weald ever had the character of a mountain-region.

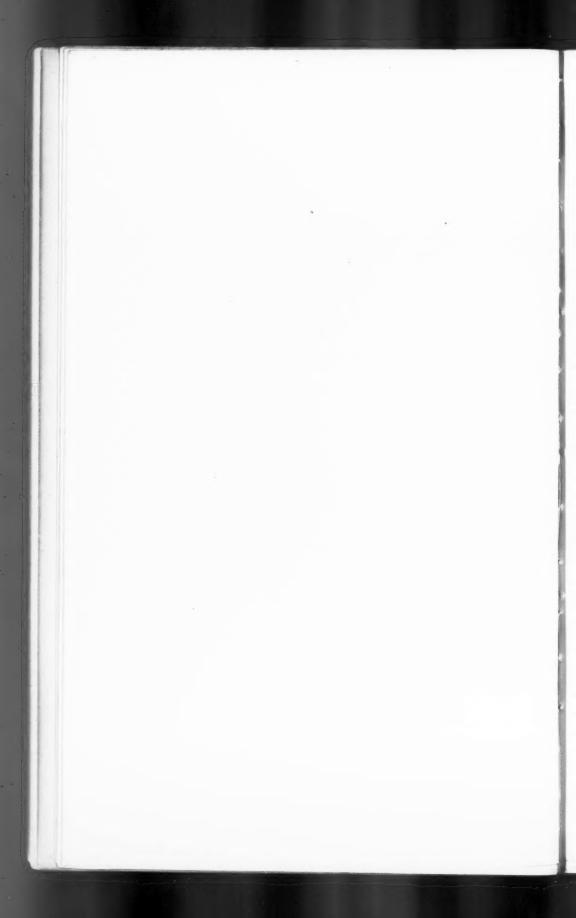




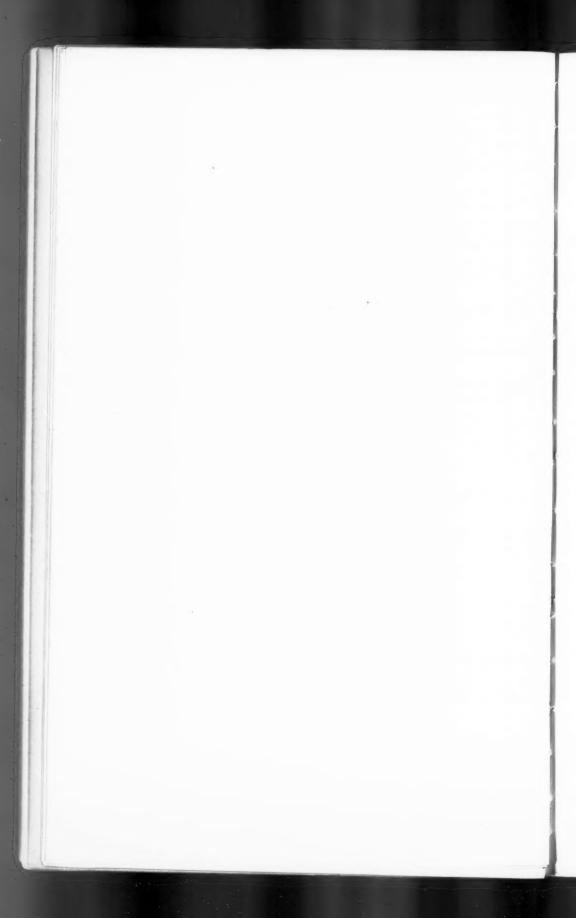


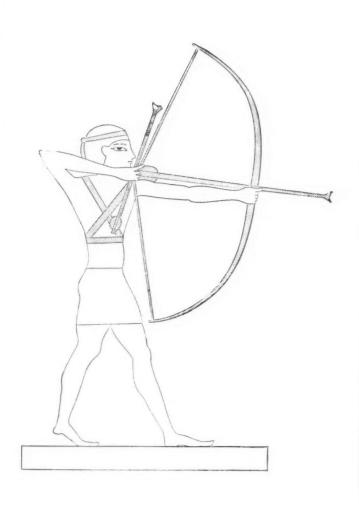


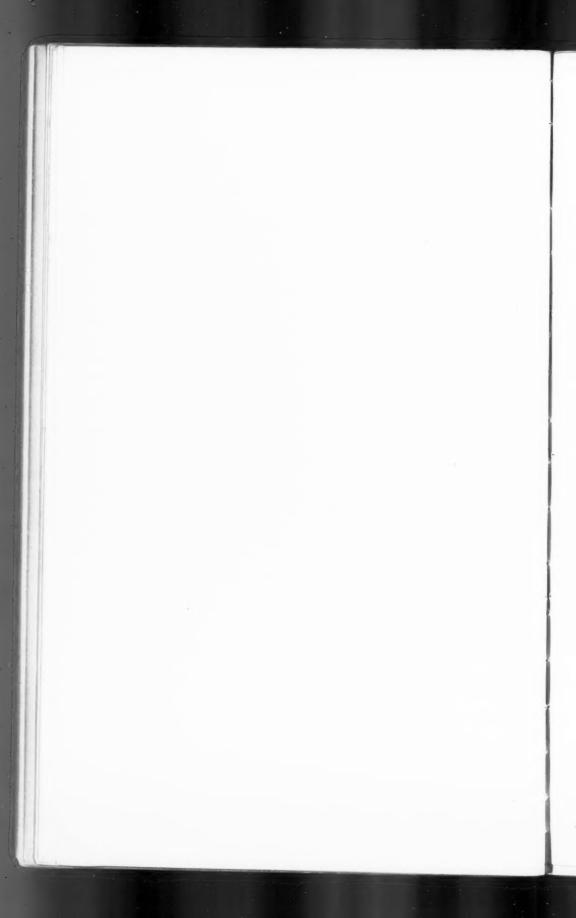




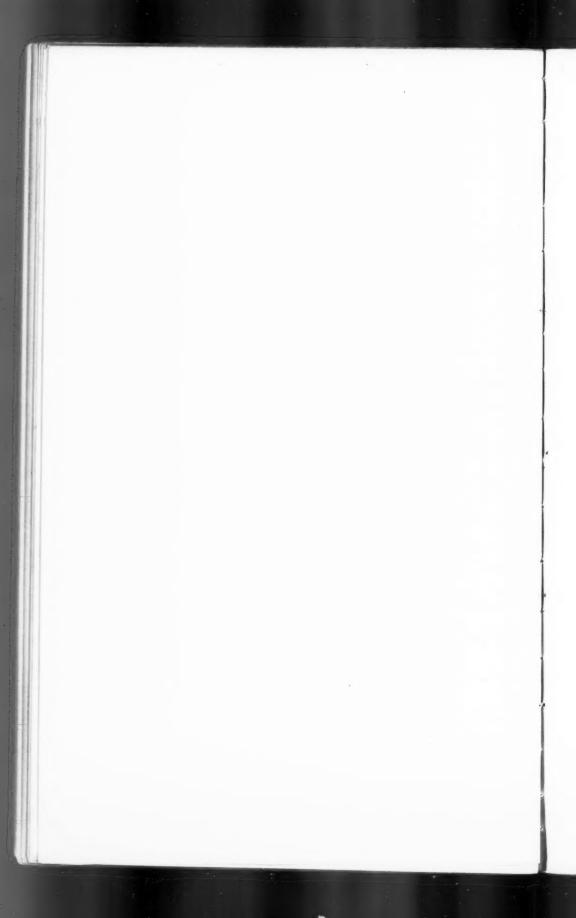


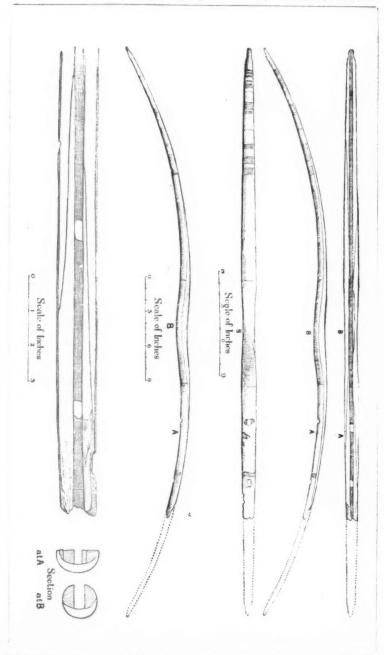


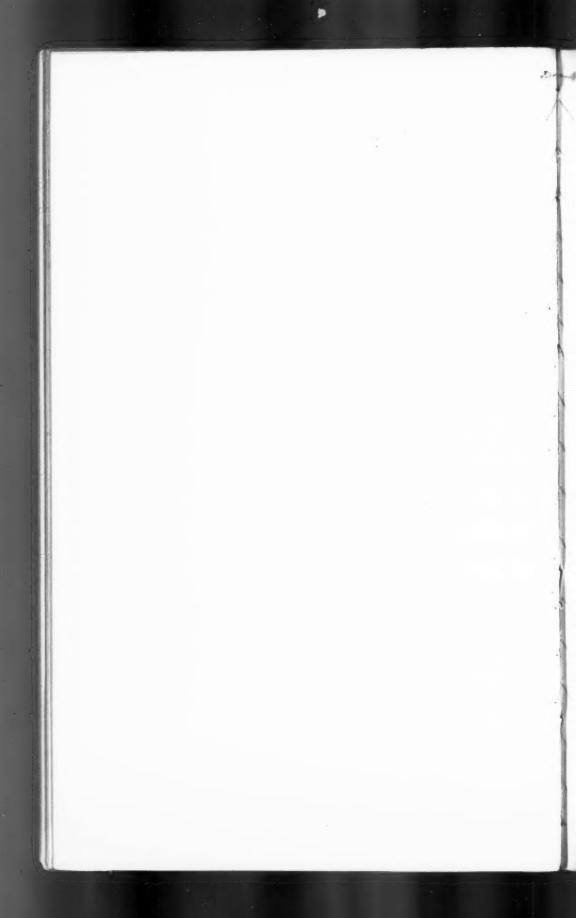












deposit of the gravel in its present position. But they may be earlier. And if we regard the type, so far as the specimens at present found enable us to form a comparison, such earlier date may not appear improbable. Nevertheless, in speaking of the implements as primitive in character, it is not pretended that a ruder condition than that indicated by them is not conceivable.

The question of the date of man's origin is one of fact, which must be determined by evidence. In suggesting a Tertiary age for man, however, it may anticipate some objection, unconnected with the evidence, to remark, firstly, that we should naturally expect man to have a wide range in time, as he has greater power of adapting himself to circumstances than any other highly-organised animal; and secondly, that Tertiary time is made sometimes to appear more remote than it is by ignoring the fact that we are still living in it to-day. Those climatic and other changes which have occurred since the incoming of the Pliocene stage appear to us in exaggerated perspective by reason of their nearness to us, but they have not inaugurated any new period in geological history.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

Fig. 1.—Massive nodule of flint slightly trimmed. From Finchampstead Ridges, 320 ft. above sea-level.

Fig. 2.—Hollowed scraper from Olddean Common, near Bagshot (400 ft.).

Fig. 3, 3A.—Flat scraping tool, grooved on one side. From Easthampstead (400 ft.).

Fig. 4.—Flint nodule slightly worked at the smaller end. From Finchampstead Ridges (320 ft.).

Fig. 5, 5A.—Scraper with bevelled rest for forefinger. From same place.

The Bows of the Ancient Assyrians and Egyptians. By C. J. Longman, M.A.

[PLATES IV-X.]

As some may be present here to-night who did not hear, and have not read in the Journal, Mr. Balfour's valuable paper on the composite bow, it may be as well to state briefly the main heads under which the different forms of bow are classified. There are three principal methods of manufacturing the bow which are all that need be mentioned here, though there are endless sub-varieties. These are:

- (1) The simple wooden bow.
- (2) The horn bow.
- (3) The composite bow.

VOL. XXIV.

Of these three classes the first and the third are by far the commonest, and while the composite bow, which is generally formed of wood, horn, and sinews of animals skilfully worked up together, is the typical weapon of Asia and Eastern Europe, the plain wooden bow is especially identified with Africa, Oceania, and Western Europe. While, however, the true composite bow is rarely, if ever, found in Africa, the simple bow is found side by side with the composite bow in many parts of Asia, especially among such races as the Veddahs, the Ainus, and the hill tribes in India, who may be regarded as more or less aboriginal inhabitants. It is not necessary for the purpose of the present paper to go in more detail into the distribution

of the forms of the bow.

It appears that the bow was in use in all the lands bordering on the Mediterranean, in greater or less degree, from a very It was, however, among the Assyrians and the early date. Egyptians that it assumed its highest position as a military weapon. It is evident from the mural sculptures discovered by Sir A. H. Layard in the palaces at Nimroud and Kouyunjik, that archery was as important an arm in the Assyrian hosts as it was in the English armies in the Middle Ages. The mere fact that the king himself is generally represented in battle armed with the bow, sometimes even dismounted from his chariot, and shooting at his enemies on foot, shows that the weapon was held in the highest repute. So important was the archer considered, that we find him accompanied by a shieldbearer, whose business it was to ward off the arrows of the Sometimes the Assyrians fought in groups of three, consisting of an archer, a shield-bearer, and a swordsman. At other times we find one shield-bearer allotted to two archers. (Pl. 1V.) Frequently the archers fought from chariots, and here, again, we find them protected by a shield-bearer. Horse-archers were sometimes employed, also in pairs, one horseman holding the reins and guiding both horses, while the other used his bow. (Pl. V.)

It would be not unnatural to suppose that, considering the large number of representations of archers and of bows that have come down to us, little difficulty would be found in recognising the structure of the bow used by the Assyrians. This, however, is very far from being the case, as the Assyrian bow, as also to some extent, the Egyptian bow, has been the cause of great perplexity in the minds of inquirers. It is evident that the Assyrian bow was an efficient and powerful one, not only from the fact that it was the principal weapon of war, but also because their kings and nobles appear to have relied on it largely in hunting even so formidable a beast as the lion. Plate VI shows King Asshur-na-zirval hunting. He has apparently slain one

lion, and is shooting at another. Now it is evident that if the bow was a trustworthy weapon against lions, it must have been capable of delivering an arrow with great force. Yet, to judge by the sculptured representations, the bow was as ill-made a weapon as can be conceived. We must therefore conclude, either that the sculptures are inaccurate, or that the bow was of a construction somewhat different to any that we are accustomed to, and was capable of doing better work than its appearance would lead us to believe. The former alternative is the one which at first sight seems most probable. The Assyrian sculptors, though obviously artists of great skill, were unacquainted with many of the elements of drawing, and frequently made the sort of mistake which children make in their first efforts. instance, they delight in showing in a picture more than the eye can see at one view. In depicting an archer in profile, with his back towards the spectator, they cannot resist showing the drawing hand as well as the back of the bow hand, when it would in fact be hidden by the body of the archer. Again, the artists frequently show no appreciation of the relative sizes of objects. It might, therefore, be argued that if they make such obvious mistakes about matters of which we are able to judge, why should not their representations of objects like bows be equally faulty? This would be an easy way of dismissing the question, but on the whole it does not seem the right view to

In the first place, though the sculptures abound in instances of ignorance of perspective, yet they appear to be singularly accurate and exact in the representation of details. Secondly, if we are to assume that the representations of bows are ill-done, and drawn without any attempt at accurate delineation, it seems certain that they would vary considerably from each other. This, however, is not the case. Great numbers of representations of bows have come down to us, executed at periods distant from each other by hundreds of years, yet the type of bow is remarkably constant. It is impossible to believe that this uniformity can be due to any other cause than the fact that the pictures were accurately drawn from the bows in common use

throughout this period.

Plate VII represents King Asshur-na-zirpal with a strung bow in his left hand. At first sight this appears to be a bow consisting of a single wooden stave about 5 feet long, with almost every fault that a bow can possess. The curious angular shape which it shows violates the first principle of the bowyer's craft, according to our ideas, namely, that a bow shall have a stiff, unbending centre of a foot or 18 inches, according to the length of the bow. This angular shape is very typical of

Assyrian bows, and is also frequently found in Egyptian art, especially when Asiatic foes or mercenaries are depicted. Frequently, however, the bows are represented not absolutely angular, but always bending freely from the centre, and this is especially the case in the later sculptures of the time of Asshurbanipal. Bows with stiff centres occur in Egyptian art, but not, so far as I know, in Assyrian. Again, the bow appears to be of the same thickness all the way down, instead of gradually diminishing towards the ends. It is beyond all doubt that if this really represents, as it appears to do, a single-stave bow of

wood, it is a bad bow.

If we now refer to Pl. VI, representing the same monarch, Asshur-na-zirpal, lion-hunting, we see what is presumably the same bow, or a bow of the same kind, fully-drawn. This picture is as typical of the fully-drawn bow throughout the Assyrian sculptures as Pl. VII is of the bow when merely strung. bow, again, bends very badly, judged by the standard of English wooden bows, as it bends right through the hand. The curve is, however, such as might be expected from the shape of the bow as depicted when strung, without any rigid centre. The length of the arrow, which is fully drawn to the head, is, moreover, so great when compared with the length of the bow that the two ends are brought much closer together than would be possible with any modern wooden bows without fracturing the bow. The curve described seems, in fact, to be only practicable with a bow made of a material far more elastic and less liable to fracture than any wood which, in modern times, at any rate, has been used for bow-making. It is possible that the Assyrians knew of a wood which possessed the necessary qualities, which has long since disappeared or been forgotten, but it is improbable. Indeed, no "self" bow, unless it were made of whalebone, could be expected to bend in the fashion of these Assyrian bows. The only remaining alternative, if we are to accept the evidence of the sculptures, is to assume that the Assyrian bow was in fact a composite bow. The appearance of the bow when strung affords little support to this theory, and, unfortunately, the ruins of Nineveh have not produced a single example of the Assyrian bow by which the question might be definitely settled. Fortunately, in the dry climate of Egypt a weapon has survived which may, perhaps, throw some light on the subject.

It will be remembered that the composite bow, is and has been from a remote period, essentially the weapon of Asia and of Eastern Europe; while in Africa the simple wooden arcus is the type of bow in general use. Consequently, it would be in accordance with what is generally known of the distribution of the bow, if the Assyrian bow should turn out to be com-

posite, while the occurrence of the composite bow in ancient Egypt would require some explanation. A considerable number of bows have been found in the tombs of ancient Egypt which are simple wooden bows of the typical African character. Pl. VIII from Rosellini's Monuments represents a bow of this type being drawn. The stiff centre will be noted in comparison with the arch of the Assyrian bow. It dates probably from B.C. 1600, or somewhat earlier. It was therefore with great surprise, in the spring of 1893, that I observed in the Egyptian section of the Royal Museum in Berlin what appeared to be undoubtedly a considerable fragment of a composite bow. The curator of the department had not closely examined this piece, which came from a tomb at Thebes which is said by experts to be of the time of Rameses II. It had in fact been classified not as a bow at all, but as a musical instrument. I called the attention of Dr. von Luschan, the head of the Berlin Ethnographical Museum, to the bow, and he, recognising its importance, made a careful examination and dissection of it, and subsequently published a brochure on the subject. The diagrams are taken from drawings supplied to me by Dr. von Luschan. (Pl. X.)

The bow is not perfect, one end being wanting, which has been restored by the dotted lines in the illustrations. The portion preserved measures 1.025 metres in length; the complete bow as restored would measure 1.245 metres. It will be seen that a deep groove runs the whole length of the bow, which is enclosed on each side by wood, which Dr. von Luschan says consists of three strips on each side, though in his drawing there appears to be only one strip on each side in the centre at B, and two strips at A. These are the only portions of the bow which are of wood, the most important part of the bow-probably its back—being a hard, shiny, fibrous tissue of a pale yellow colour, of animal origin. Dr. von Luschan considers that this substance consists of the sinews from some large beast, probably cattle. The groove was in all probability filled with horn, which is known to be very perishable even in the dry climate of Egypt. In some places traces can be found of a covering of leather and another, outer skin, probably of birch bark. Here we have a true composite bow similar in many respects to the modern Asiatic bow.

The groove in this bow is on the convex side, while the sinew back is on the concave side, as the bow now exists. The universal practice in building composite bows is to follow the natural shape of the horns which form their basis, the maker adding a stiffening of wood and overlaying the concave side with elastic sinew. When the bow is strung the natural shape of the horns is reversed, so that the outer or convex curve,

becomes the belly, or concave curve, in the weapon when ready for use. It appears that this usage was followed by the unknown bowyers who lived in the days of Rameses the Great. The main difference between this bow and a modern Turkish or Persian bow lies in the fact that in no part of the bow does there appear to be enough wood to render that part rigid. The backbone of the bow from end to end was horn and sinew; if, that is to say, we are right in conjecturing that the missing substance from the groove was horn. There is no stiff section in the centre of the bow, as is now customary, and there are no stiff ears at each end, turning on a natural hinge when the bow is strung. On the contrary, the bow would no doubt bend when drawn in one continuous curve throughout from end to end. Now this is precisely what those bows do in the Assyrian sculptures, which are represented as fully drawn, and precisely what the bow figured in the cut from Rosellini does not do. If, as appears at any rate possible, this bow was an Asiatic bow, one difficulty as regards these sculptures dis-

The difficulty of the angular form of the bow when strung but not drawn remains to be considered. The structure of the bow of Rameses II at once makes this easier to understand. The absence of a stiff centre would naturally cause the bow when strung to fall away rapidly from the middle. In the example under consideration the wood stretches from end to end, so that although there would be no straight centre, which we nowadays expect, yet there would not be an actual angle. It is, however, possible that in some cases the strips of wood did not actually join in the centre, in which case, when the pressure of the string was applied this curious angular shape would necessarily be produced. Should more bows of this character be subsequently discovered this theory may be confirmed, or it may be upset, but in the meantime it is submitted tentatively as a possible explanation of this very curious

weapon.

Dr. von Luschan supposes that this was either a bow of one of the Asiatic mercenaries of Egypt, or of one of the captives taken in war. He conjectures that it may possibly be Hittite. Rameses II conquered the Hittites or Khita, so that this conjecture is not improbable; and it is to some extent confirmed by a battle scene between Seti, the father of Rameses II, and the Hittites, engraved in Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's work on the ancient Egyptians. In this picture the Hittites are armed with a short angular bow very similar to the Assyrian bow. However this may be, the likeness of the bow of Rameses II to the Assyrian bows and its undoubtedly composite nature seem to

leave little room for doubt that the bows of the Assyrian sculptures are also composite. The fact that angular bows are put in the hands of Asiatics in representations of the wars of Seti and Rameses disposes of the theory that this curious form arose in the mistake of a draughtsman employed hundreds of years later

on the sculptures at Nimroud.

No doubt the ordinary bow in use among the ancient Egyptians was the single-stave wooden bow, of which several examples have been found in the tombs. These bows do not appear to have been very strong, and possibly they were not war bows, but were used for shooting birds and the smaller quadrupeds. Bows of unmistakably composite form are occasionally represented in the sculptures, and the fact that one composite bow has been discovered in an Egyptian tomb affords fair ground for believing that bows of this character were also in use, and were probably introduced by the Asiatic mercenaries who were employed by Egypt. The Sharu, who are identified by Birch with the Syrians, supplied the Egyptians with bows in the reign of Thothmes III, which seems to show that they were not content with the indigenous African wooden bows.

Pl. IX represents a hunting scene. It is taken from a green stone plaque in the British Museum from Tel-el-Amarna which Dr. Wallis Budge believes to have been sent to Amenophis III (B.C. 1450) as a gift from one of his Mesopotamian kinsfolk. The bows bear a considerable resemblance to modern oriental composite bows, far more so, indeed, than the bows of the Assyrian sculptures. Wooden bows are however found in Africa curiously resembling the form of these bows, one of which is figured in Dr. Ratzel's monograph on African bows. It is possible that this form of composite bow may have been copied in wood by Nilotic tribes and handed down to the present day.

DISCUSSION.

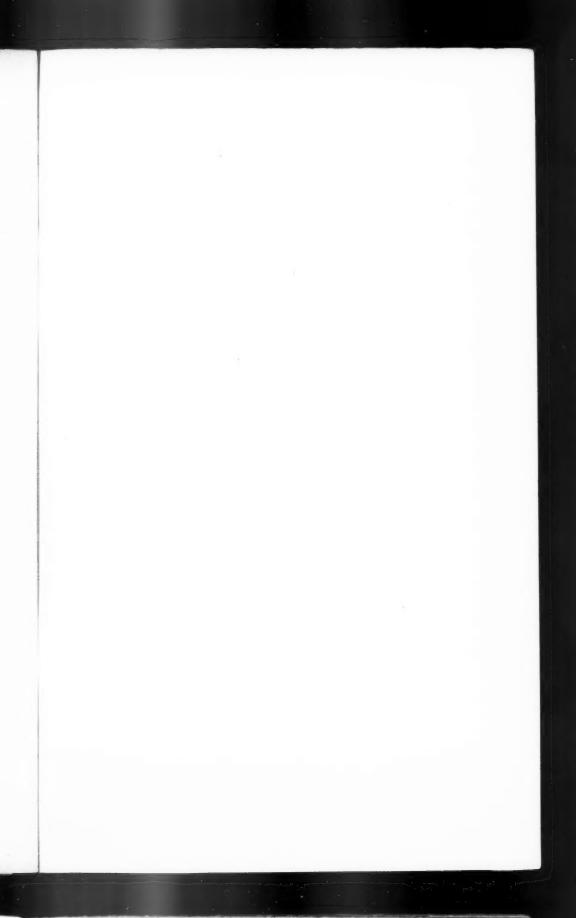
Mr.H. Balfour: I have listened with great interest to Mr. Longman's paper, which has been so well illustrated. For purposes of discussion it is well to consider the curious angular bow apart from the more usual form of bow, represented in the Assyrian sculptures, which has a more or less steady curve from end to end.

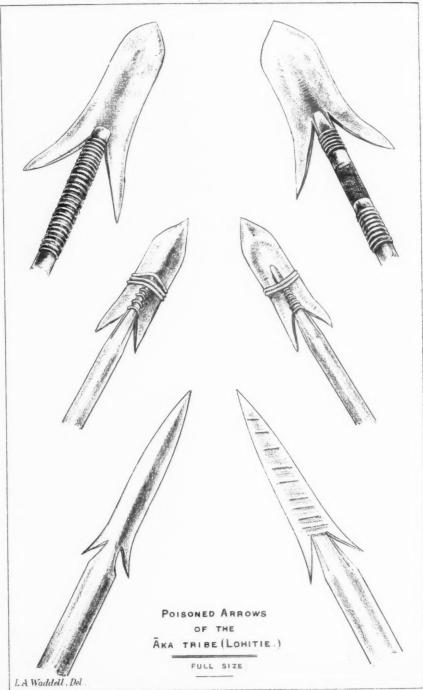
Regarding the angular bow, I must confess that I am not convinced by Mr. Longman's interpretation. Can it be said that any of the bows represented as fully drawn in the Assyrian basreliefs can be fairly regarded as representing this angular bow in the drawn state? I have never seen any bow represented as drawn, having a similar angle at the centre, and it is impossible to suppose

that the angle, which is represented as about 135° in the merely strung state of the bow, would disappear under increased tension; it would rather become less obtuse and therefore more marked. Then again, could a bow with an angular "grip" be held in the hand with any effect when drawn? The shooting would surely be execrable, as the grip of the bow hand would necessarily be of the feeblest description. Now, as regards the structure of an angular bow: It seems impossible that these could have been "self" bows, of wood alone, unless the bows were cut from the junction of a branch with the stem, or with a larger branch, and in this case there would be the unsatisfactory result of a different grain and density in the two arms of the bow, though the angle might be accounted for. I do not think that any satisfactory join could be made for two halves of a bow meeting at an angle in the centre. Nor do I believe that a satisfactory bow of *composite* structure could be made in angular shape. I do not regard Mr. Longman's suggested, and, as he pointed out, merely tentative, explanation of the shape as possible, as, supposing that the two halves of the wooden portion of the bow did not quite meet at the centre, an excessive strain would be thrown upon the sinew backing at the angle, which would be more than it could stand. Moreover, in all the composite bows whose structure I have examined, the wood invariably runs right through the centre of the bow without a break, and therefore analogy is opposed to any such central separation of the parts of the wooden structure.

The numerous errors observable in the Assyrian representations are, I think, significant. The figures facing towards our left, having a left arm on the right shoulder, and a right arm on the left shoulder; the upper part of the bow string often passing behind the head of the archer, and even of his companion also, while the lower part is seen in front of the body, passing to the hand which draws the string, and which is in full view, and many other curious mistakes showing the difficulties under which the artist laboured. These, in conjunction with the difficulty of conceiving a rational bow of angular shape, go far towards proving that the angular bow is what I may call a stereotyped artist's error, and in no way an actual variety of bow, though the possibility of there being some symbolic significance in the shape occurs to one.

Turning to the non-angular Assyrian bows I readily agree with Mr. Longman in regarding these as probably of composite structure. The interesting find of a composite bow in Egypt goes a long way towards proving this. Their locality, too, so close to the region where in later times the composite bow reached its highest state of perfection, is in favour of this supposition. So, too, their somewhat short length, and their frequent use on horseback, and also the fact of a bow case, very similar to those of modern composite bows of Asia, being represented in the Assyrian sculptures. The later forms of bow, especially in the times of Assurbanipal and Sennacherib, closely resemble the Median and early Persian bows, many of which show a marked "Cupid's bow" shape, so closely





Note on the Poisoned Arrows of the Akas.

By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., F.L.S., &c. [PLATE XI.]

THE Akas are one of the so-called Lohitic tribes of the Asam Valley, occupying independent hill-territory to the north of the Brahmaputra.

They poison their arrows for warfare as well as for large game, and such arrows proved deadly to most of the Sepoys wounded by them in the expedition sent against the tribe some years ago. Several of the arrows were sent to me for examination, while I was acting as Professor of Chemistry at Calcutta some years ago. From its physiological effects the poison was evidently aconite, and the roots from which the poison was alleged to have been derived undoubtedly belonged to a species of Aconitum.

The arrow-heads are mostly made of bambu, but a few are of iron. The shafts are usually of bambu. Some of the heads are made up of pieces dove-tailed and tied together with cane in such a way that dragging on the arrow when it has reached its quarry only pulls out the stem, and the barbs separate more deeply into the wound. The surface of the heads are scored so as to form valvular crevices for the poisonous extract which is smeared over them.

Two Funeral Urns from Loochoo. By Basil Hall Chamberlain

THE Loochooans—closely allied to the Japanese by race and language, closely bound to China by the ties of education respect their ancestors to a degree surpassed by no other Oriental people. It were scarcely too much to say that in Loochoo, if the living dwell in hovels, the dead dwell in palaces, so imposing are the vaults, of which each family, even the very poorest, possesses one. The roofs of these burialvaults may be seen from a considerable distance at sea, on account of the dazzlingly white plaster that distinguishes them from the surrounding vegetation. On the occasion of a death, the corpse is conveyed to the family vault in solemn procession, a Buddhist priest leading the way, hired mourners following with bitter wails, and the kinsmen of the dead bringing up the The religious rites duly concluded, the body is left shut up for two years. Then, when decomposition is far advanced, the family again assemble for the purpose of washing the bones and depositing them in their final resting-place, an earthenware urn, which, being filled in this manner, is lifted on to one of the numerous shelves that run round the interior of the vault. The name of the dead, and the date are inscribed in Chinese characters on the front of the urn in a space left free for that purpose.

The specimens of Loochooan funeral urns in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, illustrate the kinds used respectively by the rich and by the poor. The prices are \$1.20, or at 2s. 9d. to the silver dollar, about 3s. 4d. of English money for the former; 30 cents, say 1s., for the latter. Both come from the hamlet of Tsuboya (Tsibuya, in local Loochooan pronunciation), a suburb of Nafa, the chief port of Loochoo, whence all the southern portion of the island at least is supplied. I was informed that the urns used to hold the bones of kings cost \$25; but these I was not able to see. It will be noticed that the plan of the more elaborate of the two urns is that of a temple; furthermore that Buddhist influence manifests itself in the lotus flower adorning the front, and in the demons' heads planted at every available corner, their function being to ward off—as on homeopathic principles—all malign influences. The fish at the top corners are a favourite ornament in Japan as well as in Loochoo. The poorer sort of urn similarly shows Buddhist influence in the lotuses scratched on its surface. This, and the presence of the priest at the funeral, are instances of the ceremonial survival of institutions otherwise gone out of mode; for Buddhism is practically extinct in Loochoo as a religion and rule of life. Confucianism killed it.

For further details I may be permitted to refer to a paper which I am preparing for the Asiatic Society of Japan, and which will contain the result of a month's sojourn in Great Loochoo during the spring of the present year, and of the study of all the principal Japanese works bearing on the

subject.

Loochoo may by some, who know it only as a cluster of tiny dots on the map of the Pacific, be supposed to be as barbarous as most of the archipelagos scattered over the ocean. So far is this from being the case that the Loochooans are one of the most civilised peoples of the world, possessing an ancient history, a system of farming which would put European agriculturists to shame, and a skill in diplomacy which, till a few years ago, preserved the national independence from the encroachments both of China and of Japan. Since 1874, however, they have become subjects of the Japanese Empire, though still preserving their own language and most of their ancestral customs, including that of the disposal of the dead in funeral urns as here described. It is asserted by some that at a very early date the Loochooans practised water burial, but that this custom was gradually abandoned because the streams were polluted thereby. Of this statement however, I was unable to obtain any confirmation.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA AND NEW BOOKS.

Note on Mr. W. G. Aston's "Japanese Onomatopes, and the Origin of Language," (J.A.I. xxiii, p. 332.) By Hyde Clarke.

Before accepting the most learned dissertations of Mr. W. G. Aston, recording his minute knowledge of the old and new Japanese language, in regard to the origin of speech, there are several things to be taken into account. One is that anthropologically gesture precedes speech, and that speech is not necessary to constitute a sufficient language or converse among men.

This is sufficiently shown by what anthropologists know of North American Indians, and from the valuable mass of records as to the gesture and sign languages of America, now being com-

piled at Washington by Col. Garrett Mallory.

Everyone is apt to jump to the conclusion that language began with speech, for we believe it to be so natural to us. Some have gone the length of stating that there can be no intelligence without speech, nor apart from it, and that animals have not the same kind of intelligence as men. It is, however, questionable whether an English baby has properly a natural disposition for speech, or whether he may not even be in the condition of Mr. Aston's primitive man, using cries and calls freely, but not speech. Babies generally use gesture freely for a time, as they do cries, and will continue to do so, while understanding speech, or even occasionally using it. This condition sometimes remains until five or six years old, so that children, hearing well, have been mistaken for deaf mutes. In one case a girl had to be sent to a lipreading school before she could be got to speak freely.

On erroneous assumptions, theories of speech are applied to animals, as in the case of the gorilla. There is no evidence that any gorilla ever used articulate speech. Many animals, however, use cries in conditions such as are described by Mr. Aston.

Animals understand signs, as is known to animal trainers, and minute powers of observation enable an animal to understand signs almost imperceptible to us. Observation shows that animals use signs of various kinds and even sounds. I have observed the same sign used by a dog, a cat, and an Australian parrakeet.

A friend bought a dog at Cambridge. After a time he found out that, if in passing a butcher's shop he looked at a piece of meat, the dog would slyly hang behind, and bring home the bit of meat. To make sure he tried the dog several times, and found it was so. As a companion of this kind was too dangerous, the dog was

sold. It was supposed the dog had been trained at Oxford, and afterwards brought to Cambridge for sale. The dog was taught to keep clear of his master and to understand which was the piece of meat looked at.

With regard to the sufficiency of gesture, more clearly even than with Indians who can speak, can it be observed with the mutes of the Seraglio at Constantinople whose tongues are cut out, and who can make no articulate sound. They have among themselves a very copious language. One curious thing I found with these ancient practitioners of sign language was that they had discovered lipreading. Sometimes when they could not make one understand the individual designated they would make his name, Mehemed, or whatever it might be, with their lips, but I was not a practitioner in lip reading, and did not always comprehend.

The language of the mutes is most likely the same as that which was used by the pantomimes of ancient Rome, from whom it has descended. By a modern scholar no attention is paid to the programme of Terence or Plautus spoken by the pantomime, for he cannot understand how a pantomime could express the name of a city for instance. My friends the mutes were reputed to have signs for every city in the Turkish empire, and I saw that they had signs for every public man. The audience in Rome knew the language of the pantomimes as many people in Constantinople now do that of the mutes.

The extent to which gesture language has prevailed even in Europe is little observed. It has been practised even in these Islands by the monastic orders. A very valuable paper on this subject will be found in the "Transactions" of the Royal Irish Archæological Society for last year. The use of gesture is a tradition of the Benedictine Order, and the paper to which I refer relates to a monastery near Dublin, the ruins of which still remain. The Trappists and other silent orders have, in signs, an alleviation which is little known. The signs, very elaborate, have little relation to natural gesture language, the grammar of which can sometimes be understood by animals. Indeed this grammar is so different from that of the philologist that it is a barrier to him in understanding the real conditions of the origin of language.

Professor Graham Bell told us in his memorable discourse at the Anthropological Institute that the Indians and the deaf mutes at Washington could converse and understand. He had conversed with a French deaf mute at Paris, so easy is the system to one who knows anything of gesture language. It has been a great loss that we made no record of that discourse, for it was felt we could not preserve the illustrations, on which much of the value depended.

Gesture language in some cases holds a position as a common language among tribes speaking various dialects. Its great deficiency is at night in the dark.

A main point in the subject dealt with by Mr. Aston rests on an observation made by Alfred Russell Wallace, and which contains the germ of the whole matter of the origin of speech. This I

named in "Nature" the Wallace formula, and was in hopes it would

thereby attract greater attention.

Wallace observed that in many Australian languages the words for mouth and lips are *Labials*, for teeth are *Dentals*, and for the nose are *Nasals*.

Now this is so far true, and very true, that it goes further and applies to hundreds of languages, and what is to be noted, even to

us in English, so that it is very easy to remember the law.

Mr. Aston and his fellow inquirers have to deal with this fact, and to account for the origin of speech language on this basis. It also accords with the phenomena of gesture language, and of primitive symbology. Still further it accords with the evidence of characters.

If anyone will take the ancient Chinese characters where they are round, the Shwo-wren for example, he will, as I have pointed out, find much evidence. He will find rounds for round objects and labial sounds. In other ancient characters he will find classed together mouth, eye, ear, sun (day eye), moon (night eye), egg, &c. Objects periodically or casually opening and shutting are assimilated.

How this was worked out and connected with the organs has been sufficiently shown by me in "Nature," and since then the results obtained in a wide field of observation have brought further confirmation.

Mr. Aston is quite right in treating onomatopæia as later and subsidiary and not primary.

Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia, being the second part of "Shamanstvo," by Professor V. M. Mikhailovskii, of Moscow, Vice-President of the Ethnographical Section of the Imperial Society of Natural History, Anthropology, and Ethnography. Translated by Oliver Wardrop (Part I).

Shamanism in Russia at the present day.—Hitherto the word shamanism has been used in a narrow and strictly defined sense, geographically and ethnographically. The term has been applied especially to certain phenomena in the life and philosophy of our foreign fellow-subjects, in particular the inhabitants of Siberia, and therefore, when we enter upon a wider consideration of the question, and consider shamanism as a phenomenon characteristic of many peoples, scattered throughout many parts of the world, we must begin by examining it in the region where it was first observed and studied, i.e., among the Asiatic and European tribes of Russia. Since it is our intention to regard this phenomenon from the point of view of universal ethnography, we shall not give an exhaustive account of all the facts collected by Russian enquirers, but shall limit our investigations to those data sufficient

¹ Professor Mikhailovskii's essay forms the twelfth Vol. of the Proceedings of the Ethnographical Section, and was published in 1892.

to furnish materials for a characterisation of shamanism in Russia in order to compare it with similar institutions in other

Shamanism among the Siberian peoples is at the present time in a moribund condition; it must die out with those beliefs among which alone such phenomena can arise and flourish. Buddhism on the one hand, and Mohammedanism on the other, not to mention Christianity, are rapidly destroying the old ideas of the tribes among whom the shamans performed. Especially has the more ancient Black Faith suffered from the Yellow Faith preached by the lamas. But the shamans, with their dark mysterious rites, have made a good struggle for life, and are still frequently found among the native Christians and Mohammedans. The mullahs and lamas have even been obliged to become shamans to a great Many Siberian tribes who are nominally Christians believe in the shamans, and have recourse to them. The Yakuts, for instance, when called upon by the government to give information about their customary law, in the third decade of the present century, insisted on excluding shamanism from the question of any particular profession of religion. They said, "Shamanism is not the faith or religion of the Yakuts, but an independent set of actions which take place in certain definite cases." And they endeavour to explain and justify the attachment of Christian Yakuts to their shamans.1

The names applied to Shamans by the various Siberian tribes.— Shamans, though of a degenerate type, are to be met with throughout the whole of Siberia, and they are known by various names. The word shaman is only found among the Tunguses, Buryats, and Yakuts.2 It is only among the Tunguses that this is the native name; the Buryats, like the Mongols, also call their shamans bö, and the female shamans ödegön or utygan.3 Among the Yakuts, a shaman is called oyun, a female shaman udagan.4 The Altaians use the term Kam, and call the shaman's dealings with spirits kamlanie, i.e., kam-ing. The Samoyeds called their shamans tadibei.8 Despite the different names, the performances of the shamans are the same among all these peoples, though all acknowledge that the modern shamans are less powerful than the ancient.

The first Shamans and their origin.—There are some curious tales about the first shamans and the origin of shamanism. Shashkov has copied down among the Buryats of Balagan a long legend about the cause of the deterioration of the shamans. first shaman, Khara-Gyrgen, had unlimited power, and God, desiring to prove him, took the soul of a certain rich maiden, and she fell ill. The shaman flew through the sky on his tambourine, seeking the soul, and saw it in a bottle on God's table. To keep the soul from flying out, God corked up the bottle with one of the

Samokvasov: "Sbornik obychnago prava sibirskikh inorodtsev," 218-219.

Agapitov and Khangalov, 41. Potanin, iv, 61.
 Pripuzov, 64.
 Radloff: "Aus Sibirien," ii, 16.

fingers of his right hand. The cunning shaman changed himself into a yellow spider, and bit God on the right cheek, so that, irritated by the pain, he clapped his right hand to his face, and let the soul out of the bottle. Enraged at this, God limited Khara-Gyrgen's power, and thenceforth shamans have been getting worse and worse. The legend which we summarize is interesting for the glimpse it gives of the coarse ideas of an earlier period, underlying the modern mask of monotheism. The god referred to is but one of the spirits of the animistic epoch. The Buryats also have the following story about the appearance of shamans among men:—In the beginning there were only the good spirits (tengri) of the west, and the evil spirits of the east. The western tengris created men, who were at first happy, but afterwards, through the wickedness of the evil spirits, they began to fall sick and die. Then the good tengris decided to give a shaman to mankind, to aid in the struggle with the evil spirits, so they made the eagle a shaman. Men did not put faith in a mere bird, and, besides, they did not understand its language; the eagle therefore prayed the western tengris either to allow the post of shaman to be given to a Buryat, or to bestow human speech upon the eagle. By the will of the good spirits, the first shaman became the offspring of the eagle and a Buryat woman.2 The Yakut tradition is that the first shaman was of extraordinary strength, and would not acknowledge the chief god of the Yakuts, for which reason the wrathful deity burned him up. All the body of this shaman consisted of crawling reptiles. One frog escaped from the fire, and from it issued the shaman demons, who still supply the Yakuts with famous shamans, male and female.3 The Tunguses of the Turukhan region, though the miraculous element is not wanting in their story, have a less fantastic account of the first shaman. According to their version, the first shaman was formed in consequence of his particular fitness for this occupation, and by the aid of the devil. This shaman flew up the chimney of the yurta (hut) and came back accompanied by swans.4 The stories about ancient shamans, and the supernatural appearance of persons destined to enter into immediate intercourse with spirits and gods, arose, on the one hand, from the desire of the shamans to give a special sanction to their proceedings; on the other hand, they are due to the peculiar character of their doings, which produced an exceedingly powerful impression on the minds and imaginations of uncivilised people.

Forms of "kamlanie" and exorcism among the Tunguses.—Among the various performances of the shamans, the most characteristic of all is that which is now generally called kamlanie. The presence of a shaman at a festival, as priest and sacrificer, is but of secondary importance, and is not of the essence of shamanism. Scenes of kam-ing among the various foreign peoples in Russia have been

¹ Shashkov, 81.

² Agapitov and Khangalov, 41-42.

³ Pripuzov, 64.

⁴ Tretyakov: "Turukhanskii krai," 210-211.

described in detail by ancient and modern travellers, especially Gmelin and Pallas. In Argunsk, Gmelin saw the juggling, as ho calls it, of a certain Tungus shaman. The kamlanie took place at night, in the open air, by a fire. The spectators sat round the fire; the shaman stripped, and then put on his shaman costume of leather, hung with pieces of iron; on each of his shoulders was a toothed iron horn. But this particular shaman had as yet received no tambourine from the demons, of which there are a vast number; each shaman has its own demons, and he that has most is considered The kamlanie consisted of running round in the circle, and singing, in which he was supported by two assistants. Another Tungus shaman, seen by Gmelin, had a tambourine; he made a speech in a drawling chant, and the Tunguses present chimed in. The language of the shaman's utterances was unknown; he then cried out in the voices of various animals, and drove back spirits. The spirits did not say anything to him, but tormented

him a great deal.1

Among the Yakuts.—The description of kamlanie by a Yakut oyun is especially remarkable; this oyun seems to have made a great impression on Gmelin. The ceremony took place in a birchbark yurta, in front of which a fire was burning. When it was dark, a shaman, with long black hair, undressed in the yurta, and put on a coat hung with iron; he left on his breeches, but changed his stockings for others which were embroidered, and are only worn by shamans during the kamlanie. He took his tambourine, sat down with his face to the south-west, and began to beat the tambourine and cry out. The spectators did not join in chorus. He sat thus for a while, grimacing, shouting, and beating the tambourine. Gmelin's companions told him that the man was summoning the spirits. Suddenly the shaman leaped to his feet, the beating on the tambourine became faster, the shouts louder, his black hair was flying while he rushed about the yurta. At last the shaman was overcome, and fell fainting. Then two chiefs seized him, for if the exorcist falls on the ground while he is delirious, misfortunes will happen to the whole people. Afterwards, while a third chief was holding over his head a flint, and sharpening a knife on it, the shaman looked round for a moment, and again became delirious; whilst in this state, he often stopped, fixedly looked upwards, and grasped at the air with his hand. Then followed his prophecies, and when all was over, and the shaman had doffed his dress, he declared that he remembered nothing.2 Klark describes the kamlanie of a Yakut shaman in terse but impressive language, and declares that the sound of the tambourine, the convulsive antics of the shaman, his fierce screams, his wild stare in the dim light, all strike terror into the hearts of semi-savage people, and powerfully affect their nerves.

Gmelin, ii, 44–46, 193–195.
 Gmelin, ii, 351–356.
 Klark: "Vilyuisk i ego okrug. Zapiski Sibirskago otdyela," 1864, kn. vii,

In the "Syevernyi Arkhiv" for 1822, there is a description of the healing of a sick person by a Yakut shaman. There we find him playing another part; that of the leech, driving away evil spirits which possess the sick and cause illness. His performance consisted of two parts; first of all he did not put on his dress, but took a piece of tinder in his hand, twisted into tufts some hairs from a horse's mane, then embraced the patient, and thus took into himself the demons that caused the illness, found out what village they came from, and designated a sacrifice. When the animal destined for sacrifice was brought, the second part of the ceremony began; the shaman put on his professional costume, went up to the beast, and conveyed into it the demon that had entered him from the sick man. This process had a terrifying effect upon the animal; it seemed to be paralyzed. After the beast was killed, the head and flesh were eaten, and the skin and bones were hung on a tree.1

Among the Samoyeds of Tomsk .- In Western Siberia also, among the Tomsk Samoyeds, the shaman alone has access to the dark world of spirits; according to Castren, he performs his functions in a place specially prepared. He sits down in the middle of the room, on a bench or trunk, in which there must be nothing of a dangerous nature, neither knife, nor bullet, nor needle; behind the shaman, and beside him, are ranged the numerous spectators; but nobody must sit in front of him. The shaman's face is turned to the door, and he affects to see and hear nothing. In his right hand he holds a stick, smooth on one side, and on the other, covered with mysterious signs and figures; in his left hand are two arrows with the points upwards; on the point of each a little bell is fixed. The raiment of the conjurer has no distinctive character; he generally dons the clothes of the enquirer or patient. The kamlanie begins with a song, summoning the spirits, and during this the shaman beats with the stick on the arrows, and the bells ring out the measure, while the audience sit devoutly silent. As soon as the spirits begin to appear, the shaman stands up and begins to dance, accompanying the dance with very difficult and ingenious movements of the body. Meanwhile the song and the sound of the bells go on without pause. The subject of the song is a conversation with the spirits, and it is sung with varying degrees of excitement. When the singing has become exceptionally enthusiastic, the spectators also join in it. After the shaman has learned from the spirits all he wants to know, he declares the will of the gods. When he is consulted about the future, he divines by means of the stick, which he throws down; if the side marked with signs is downwards, this foretells misfortune, if it is uppermost, good fortune. To convince their fellows of the reality of their intercourse with spirits, the shamans have recourse to the following plan: the ghost-seer sits down in the middle of a dry reindeer skin which is stretched on the floor, and has his hands and feet tied; then the shutters are closed and the shaman summons the

^{1 &}quot;Syevernyi Arkhiv," 1822, 274-277.

spirits subject to him. In the various corners of the dark yurta, and even outside, different voices are heard, there is a sound of scratching and drumming in time on the dry skin, bears growl, snakes hiss, squirrels jump. When the noise ceases, the unbound shaman goes out of the yurta, and the audience are convinced that the whole performance has been the work of spirits. Farther to the north, the Samoyed shamans, to prove their mysterious power,

ask to be shot in the head.1

Among the Ostyaks .- As early as the days of Peter the Great, Novitskii, in his description of the Ostyaks, near akin to the Samoyeds, portrayed picturesquely the manner in which an Ostyak shaman conjured. When the natives wish to make enquiries about matters affecting their daily wants, fishing, hunting, or the like, they lead the wonder-worker into a dark hut, and there bind him firmly; they themselves sit down and play on reed pipes; the captive shouts out necromantic words, invoking his ally, Satan. The performance always takes place by night, and, after some hours of invocation, a stormy and noisy spirit enters the hut. Then the spectators flee, and leave the wizard alone with the spirit. The spirit takes him, raises him up and lets him down again, and torments him in all kinds of ways. Some hours later, the demon makes his revelation to the shaman, and then leaves him; the shaman communicates the message to the enquirers.2 Tretyakov has given the substance of some of the sacred songs of the shamans among the Ostyaks and Yurak-Samoyeds. An Ostyak shaman sings that he is raising himself to heaven by means of a rope let down to him; he pushes aside the stars that block his way. In the sky, the shaman floats in a boat, and then sails down a stream to the earth, with such rapidity that the air blows through him. Afterwards, with the aid of winged devils, he descends below the earth, and asks the dark spirit "Ama," or the shaman's mother, for a cloak. (At this moment the bystanders throw a cloak over his shoulders.) Finally the shaman informs each of those who are present that his happiness is secured, and tells the patient that the devil is cast out. Among the Tazovsky Ostyaks and Yuraks, the shaman sings of his journeyings, and tells how he flies amid blossoming wild roses, and rises to the sky, where he sees on the tundra seven larches; there his grandsire formerly made his tambourine. Then the shaman enters an iron hut and falls asleep, surrounded by purple clouds. He comes down to earth on a river, and then adoring the heavenly deity the sun, the moon, the trees, the beast of earth—the ruler of the world, he prays for long life, happiness, &c.3

Among the Chukchis and Koryaks.—Passing to the extreme side of Siberia, on the Pacific coast, we find, among the tribes there, similar phenomena. Among the Chukchis, according to Litke, the

Castren: "Reiseberichte und Briefe," 1845-1849, 172-174.

³ Tretyakov, 217-218.

² "Kratkoe opisanie o narodye ostyatskom," Grigoriya Novitskago, 1715g. Izd. L. Maikov, 1884, 48-49.

shaman, in his kamlanie, began by retiring behind a curtain, then were heard groans, and gentle tappings, with a thin whalebone, on the tambourine; opening the curtain, he was seen swaying from side to side, the shouts and drumming became louder, he threw off his coat, and stripped himself to the waist. The performance concluded with jugglery. First of all, the shaman took a smooth stone, gave it to Litke to hold, then took it between his hands, rubbed one palm on the other, and the stone disappeared; it was found in a swelling near the elbow, and was cut out. The last trick of the shaman, before retreating behind the curtain, was to cut his tongue with a knife until blood flowed.1 The Korvak shamans, according to Krasheninnikov, had no special dress, and were only remarkable as healers of the sick and performers of tricks, e.g., they thrust a knife into the stomach. In healing diseases they designated the kind of animal which ought to be sacrificed. In their kamlanie the tambourine played an important

nart 2

Among the Kamchadals.—Among the Kamchadals there were no special shamans, but their place was taken by women; these were chiefly old, and they cured diseases by whispered charms. Their chief form of shamanism consisted of two old women sitting in the corner and ceaselessly whispering. One of them tied round her leg a garland of nettles ornamented with red wool, and shook her leg about. If the leg rose easily this was a good omen, but if it rose with difficulty misfortune would happen. But the kamlanie did not terminate with this. The female shaman summoned the devils with the words, "gut! gut!" and gnashed her teeth, and when the devils appeared she met them with laughter and cries of "hoi! hoi!" Half an hour afterwards the devils departed, and when this happened the witch cried "ishki," i.e., no. Her assistants were all the time whispering and telling her not to be afraid, and to notice everything and not forget the response. Some, adds Krasheninnikov, say that in time of thunder and lightning the bilyukai, spirit, comes to the women shamans and enables them to give responses.3 Although Krasheninnikov, in his account of shamanism among the Kamchadals, declares that this tribe consider all women, especially old ones, capable of kamlanie, vet from the facts he gives we arrive at the conclusion that it is only certain women, exceptionally gifted, who can call up spirits, and become united with them.

Among the Gilyaks.—The Gilyaks carefully conceal all information about their shamans, and it is therefore very interesting to find that a merchant named Ivanov has given a detailed account of them, published in the "Sibirskii Vyestnik" for 1866. Mr. Ivanov lived on the Amur river from 1855, managed a Gilyak school, and had close relations with the Gilyaks of the Amur and of Sakhalin Island. A shaman, out of friendship, allowed him to be present at

¹ Erman: "Archiv," 1843, 459.

² Krasheninnikov, ii, 158-159.

³ Krasheninnikov, ii, 81-82.

a kamlanie. At ten o'clock Mr. Ivanov reached the yurta. soon as I entered," says he, "he began to put on his shaman costume, hung with heavy iron rattles, took in his hand a tambourine covered with fish skin, and beat upon it with a hair-brush. On his head he had long wood shavings, and to the sound of the tambourine he began dancing about the yurta, and shouting in a wild voice, endeavouring to show the spectators that he possessed that inspiration which is the mark of his profession. Among his various gymnastic feats and tricks, he took in his right hand a knife and in his left hand an axe, and going over to the door, where there was no light, placed the knife against his stomach and struck with the axe on the handle of the knife until the blade of the knife had penetrated his entrails, then turning to the spectators he showed them that the blade had entered his stomach. All the bystanders went up to him to see; one of them took hold of the handle and pulled it away from the blade; the latter, according to the shaman, was left in his stomach, and thence he afterwards produced it." Mr. Ivanov afterwards detected the shaman's trick, and exposed

Among the Mongols.—Shamanism was especially developed near Baikal Lake and in the Altai Mountains. In these classic lands of the Black Faith, capable enquirers like Yadrintsev, Potanin, and Radloff have laboured. There, in the south of Siberia, we find not only examples of the productions of the shamanist mind excited by an inflamed imagination, but whole mystery plays in which the conjurers up of spirits are the actors, plays distinguished by a strong dramatic element. Among the ancient Mongols, as early as the time of Chingis Khan and his immediate successors, the shamans were at the height of their power; they were priests, leeches, and prophets. As priests they need not occupy us at present. For healing purposes, the ancient Mongol shamans employed the methods which are still used in Siberia. When the exorcist of the spirits guilty of causing the illness could not fall into a state of delirium, the spectators tried to excite him by clapping of hands, shouts and songs; this custom is called togokha by the Mongols. As soothsayers, they either foretold the future, or divined according to the flight of arrows, or by the shoulder-blade; they burned the shoulderblade of a sheep, and made responses to enquirers according to the cracks caused by the fire.2

Among the Buryats.—Among the Alarsk Buryats, the shaman, when called in to heal a sick person, makes a diagnosis, i.e., he enquires into the cause of the illness, and decides what has happened to the patient's soul, whether it has lost itself, or has been stolen away and is languishing in the prison of the gloomy Erlik, ruler of the underground world. A preliminary kamlanie decides this question. If the soul is near at hand, the shaman, by methods known to him alone, replaces it in the body, if the soul is far away, he seeks it in every part of the world; in the deep woods, on the

^{1 &}quot;Sibirskii Vyestnik," 1866, No. 18.

² Banzarov, 114-115.

steppes, at the bottom of the sea, and when he has found it, restores it to the body. The soul frequently escapes from its pursuer; it runs to a place where sheep have walked, so that the shaman cannot discover its traces, which are mixed with the footprints of the sheep, or it flees to the south-western spirits, where it is safe from the wiles of the shaman. If the soul is not to be found anywhere within the limits of our world, the shaman must seek it in the realm of Erlik, and perform the toilsome and expensive journey to the underground world, where heavy sacrifices have to be made, at the cost of the patient. Sometimes the shaman informs the patient that Erlik demands another soul in exchange for his, and asks who is his nearest friend. If the sick Buryat is not of a magnanimous disposition, the shaman, with his consent, ensuares the soul of his friend when the latter is asleep. The soul turns into a lark; the shaman in his kamlanie takes the form of a hawk, catches the soul, and hands it over to Erlik, who frees the soul of the sick man. The friend of the Buryat, who recovers, falls ill and But Erlik has only given a certain respite; the patient's life is prolonged for three, seven, or nine years.1 The famous Berlin ethnographer Bastian describes the kamlanie of a Buryat shaman, at which he was present. An old shaman, in the company of three of his pupils, who assisted him, by night, in a yurta half lighted up by a fire, flung himself about, stamping wildly, and, while performing his dance round, summoned the spirits in a monotonous chant with a rhythmic cadence. When the shaman reached his pupils they fell down prostrate before him, and he touched their heads with two wands which he waved during his performance. Bastian's guide asked a question about a box that had been lost on the road. One of the pupils carefully laid a shovel on the coals, and filled it with thin splinters of wood, keeping up the fire so that the whole surface of the shovel would be on fire at the same time; then he reverently carried over the shovel full of flaming chips to his master, who spat on it several times and eagerly noticed the crackling of the burning wood, at the same time groaning and twitching convulsively. Unfortunately the response was indefinite and obscure.2 Mr. Pozdnyeev gives, among his specimens of the popular literature of the Mongol tribes, an interesting wizard song of a Buryat shaman. It was sung, apparently, before a Buryat set out for the chase, and reminds him of his duties towards the Russian Government.

> "Tree of the western rock Spread in thy youth, Taking a blue colour, Bloom with blue blossoms."

> > "Father heaven, O take!
> > Thou must make a ramrod,
> > Thou must kill the roebuck's mate,
> > Thou must pay tribute to the Tsar,
> > Thou must do carting for the Kazaks."

¹ Potanin, iv, 86-87.

² Bastian: "Geographische und ethnologische Bilder," i, 404-406.

"Tree of the southern rock Spread out from thy root; Taking a blue colour, Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!" &c.

"Tree of the northern rock Spread out from thy branches, Taking a blue colour Bloom with blue blossoms."

"Father heaven, O take!" &c.1

Mr. Pozdnyeev has copied from Castren's Buryat grammar another specimen of a shamanist prayer. It differs from the foregoing in that it was uttered at public worship (kerek) and was not called forth by a private accidental demand. It begins by referring to various gods giving authority to the shaman's invocation. Then it goes on as follows:

"At this was present (here the name of a spirit invoked is given).

? " At the invocation bylp (a certain spirit).

"We invoke long life, We invoke long prosperity, We invoke a skin a chetvert thick, We invoke life strong as iron, We invoke the effectiveness of sacrifice, Entrance into a happy fate, We invoke the driving away of infection, The healing of sickness, We invoke wealth in flocks, We invoke a numerous progeny." "Make ready at once! "2

Among the Altaians.—In various corners of the Altai Mountains, among the Turkish tribes, Teleuts, Altaians and Chernev Tatars, the kams, or shamans, tenaciously preserve all the traditions and ceremonies connected with their calling. Mr. Potanin was fortunate enough to observe several cases of kamlanie. A very curious instance was that of a young shaman named Enchu, who lived in an anl on the river Talda, six versts from Angudai. His kamlanie consisted of four parts: 1. Before the fire, sitting with the face towards it; 2. Standing with the back to the fire; 3. A pause, during which the kam, leaning on the side of his tambourine, narrated all that the spirits had said or done; 4. Finally, he kam'd with his back to the fire, in front of the place where the tambourine always haugs, and undressed himself. Enchu said he did not remember what had happened to him while he was dancing with his back to the fire. At that time he madly twisted his body without moving his feet; he squatted down, writhed and straightened himself out again, as if imitating the movements of a snake. Owing to the rapid movement of the upper part of his body, the twisted handkerchiefs sewed on his dress spread out and whirled in the air, forming exquisite wavelike lines. Meanwhile he beat the tambourine in various ways,

¹ Pozdnycev, i, 289.

² Pozdnyeev, i, 280.

and produced the most varied sounds. Sometimes Enchu held the tambourine upside down, holding it horizontally, and struck it violently from underneath. Potanin's Angudai guides explained that the shaman was collecting spirits in the tambourine. When the kam sat with his back to the fire he was much quieter; sometimes he interrupted his beating of the tambourine, conversed with somebody, laughed, thus indicating that he was in the company of the spirits. At one time Enchu sang slowly and pleasantly, while producing on the tambourine sounds similar to the trampling of horses' feet; the spectators explained that the shaman was riding

with his guards.

On the Elegesha, Potanin was present at the kamlanie of an old female shaman in the aul of Uryankhai. The yurta (or hut) was very close. The shamanka's husband helped in the preliminary part of the ceremony: he gave her dress to her, dried the tambourine before the fire, threw juniper branches into the fire, &c. The distinctive features of this performance, as compared with Enchu's, were delirium and spasms; throwing away her tambourine, she began to drag herself towards those who were sitting in the yurta, showing her teeth, and stretching out her fingers to make them look like the claws of a beast; then she fell with a crash on the ground, and her head almost struck the hearthstone. As she lay on the floor she twisted herself about, and tried to gnaw with her teeth the hot stones around the hearth. Her husband held up her head, and muttered: "Stinkard!" According to the Altaians, the procedure

varies among the different kams.1

A shaman's journey to Erlik's realm.—But Erlik, the malicious ruler of the underground realm, always plays an important part, and Mr. Potanin has written down, from Father Chivalkov's account, a story giving a full and dramatic description of a kam's journey to Erlik's abode. The shaman begins his travels from the place where he is performing. He describes his entry. The road runs southward. The kam passes through the neighbouring districts, climbs over the Altai, and describes, in passing, the Chinese land with its red sand; then he rides over a yellow steppe across which a magpie cannot "With songs we shall traverse it!" cries the kam to his followers, and drawls out a song; the young braves mount with him, and accompany him in song. After the yellow steppe comes a wancoloured steppe, over which no raven has ever flown, and the kam again incites his followers to make merry with song. these two weary steppes is the iron mountain, Temir Shaikha, whose summit reaches heaven; the kam tells his followers that concord is necessary for this dangerous ascent. Then the kam describes the difficult ascent of the mountain, pretends to climb, and when the top is reached breathes heavily. On the mountain he sees the bones of kams who have failed to reach the summit for "On the mountains men's bones lie heaped up in want of power. rows; the mountains are piebald with the bones of horses." leaving the mountains behind, he rides up to a hole which leads

¹ Potanin, iv, 60-62.

into the underground world, "the jaws of the earth." On entering he finds a sea, over which is stretched a hair. To give a visible representation of his passage over this dangerous bridge, the shaman totters from side to side, and seems sometimes to be on the point of falling. At the bottom of the sea he views the bones of many fallen shamans, for a sinful soul cannot cross the hair bridge. When he reaches the other shore, the kam meets several sinners suffering punishments corresponding to their guilt, e.g., an eavesdropper is fixed with his ear against a pillar. Finally the shaman rides up to Erlik's abode; he is met by dogs; at first the porter will not let the kam pass, but he is at length appeased with presents. Before the ceremony begins, pots of home-brewed beer, boiled beef, and skunk skins are prepared for this purpose. After receiving the gifts, the porter lets the traveller into the yurta of Erlik. Hereupon the kam goes up to the door of the yurta in which the performance is taking place, and affects to believe that he is approaching Erlik, who is sitting at the other end of the yurta; he bows, and puts his tambourine against his forehead, saying, "Mergu! mergu!" and then tells whence and why he has come. Then the kam cries out; this means that Erlik has noticed him, and has cried out from anger at his coming. The alarmed kam runs back to the door, and then again approaches Erlik's throne. He repeats this manœuvre three times, and then Erlik says, "Those that have feathers fly not hither, those that have bones walk not hither; thou black, ill-smelling beetle, whence comest thou?" The sage shaman explains who he is, and treats the lord of hell to wine; in doing this, he pretends to take wine from the pots, fills his tam-bourine, and presents it to Erlik-Khan. Then he represents the Khan drinking the wine, and hiccoughs in his stead. After slaking the Khan's thirst, he offers him an ox, which has been previously killed, and the use of a collection of furs and clothes taken from the chests and hung on a rope; touching these things with his hand, the sorcerer hands them over to the khan, and says, "May this tolu of varied shapes, which cannot be lifted by a horse, be for clothes on thy neck and body." But these things are left with the master of the house. As each thing is handed over, the tambourine is tapped. Erlik becomes drunk, and the kam mocks the drunken god. The propitious deity now gives his blessing to the suppliant, promises to multiply cattle, and even reveals what mare will bring forth a colt, and how it will be marked. The kam joyfully returns homeward, not on a horse, as before, but riding on a goose, and he walks about the yurta on tiptoe, as if he were flying. He imitates the cry of a goose. The kamlanie comes to an end, the shaman sits down, somebody takes the tambourine out of his hands, and beats on it thrice. The kam goes on beating his palm or his breast with his drum-stick, until it is taken away from him. After this the kam rubs his eyes as if he were awaking. He is asked, "What sort of ride had you? How did you get on?" And he replies, "I have had a successful journey! I was well received!"

¹ Potanin, iv, 64-68.

Ceremonies and Songs of an Altaian Kam while Sacrificing to Bai-Yulgen.—The activity of the kam as a sacrificer, a conjurer up of spirits, and a soothsayer, is manifested most brilliantly in the ceremonies attending a great sacrifice to the celestial deity, Bai-Yulgen, who dwells on the golden mountain in the sixteenth heaven. All the songs and invocations were written down in the fifth decade of the present century, at the Altai mission, and were published by the priest Verbitskii. Mr. Radloff made a translation, and gave a full account of this festival, which is kept from time to time by every family. The festival takes place in the evenings of two or three days. On the first evening begins the preparation for the The kam selects a spot in a birch thicket in a little meadow, and there he places a new and ornamented yurta. In the yurta they put a young birch with the foliage on it; the lower branches are lopped off close to the trunk; on one of the topmost branches a flag is hung. At the bottom of the tree they cut on the trunk, with an axe, nine steps (tapty). Round the yurta a penfold is made, as if for cattle; opposite the door of the yurta is the entrance of the courtyard, and by the entrance is a birch stick with a noose of horse-hair. Then they choose a horse agreeable to the deity, and the kam has it held by a special person chosen from among those present, and called Bash-tutkan kiski, i.e., holder of the The shaman takes a birch twig and waves it over the horse's back, thus driving the soul of the sacrificed animal to Yulgen, at the same time the Bash-tutkan's soul accompanies it. The assembling of spirits in the tambourine takes place with great solemnity; the kam summons each spirit separately, and with a groan replies, "Here am I also, kam!" at the same time moving the tambourine as if taking the spirit into it. When he has assembled these assistants, the kam goes outside the yurta, sits down on a scarecrow in the form of a goose, and moving both arms rapidly like wings, he slowly sings in a loud voice:

"Below the white sky,
Above the white cloud,
Below the blue sky,
Above the blue cloud,
Mount, O bird, to the sky!"

To all the speeches of the shaman the goose replies by quacking, "Ungai gak gak, ungai gak, kaigai gak gak, kaigai gak." The shaman himself, of course, does this imitation of the goose's voice. On his feathered steed the kam pursues the soul, pura, of the sacrificed horse, and neighs like a horse; finally, with the aid of the spectators, he drives it to the penfold, to the birch stick with the noose which represents the guardian of the animal's soul. The kam neighs, kicks, and makes a noise as if the noose were catching him by the threat, pulls, and sometimes throws down his tambourine as a sign that the horse has freed itself and run away. Finally, having recaptured the pura, he fumigates it with juniper and discards the goose. Then the animal destined for sacrifice is brought, the kam blesses it, and, with the aid of some of the

bystanders, kills it in a most cruel manner. The bones and skin become the sacrifice, and the flesh is eaten up, with various

ceremonies, the kam receiving the choicest portion.

The most important part of the performance takes place on the second day, after sunset; it is then that the kam must display all his power and all his dramatic art. A whole religious drama is performed, descriptive of the kam's pilgrimage to Bai-Yulgen in heaven. A fire burns in the yurta, the shaman feeds the lords of the tambourine, i.e., the spirits, personifying the shamanistic power of his family, with the meat of the offering, and then sings:

"Accept this, O Kaira Khan!
Master of the tambourine with six bosses,
Come to me amid the tinkling!
If I cry 'Chokk!' bow thyself!
If I cry 'Mé!' accept this!"

With a similar invocation he addresses the master of the fire, representing the power of the family of the owner of the yurta, the organiser of the festival. Raising a cup, the kam with his lips makes a noise as if invisible guests had assembled and were drinking, and he cuts up the meat into morsels and gives them to the spectators, who greedily gulp them down, as representatives of the unseen spirits. Fumigating with juniper nine garments, hung on a rope and decked with ribbons, which the master of the house offers to Yulgen, the kam sings:

"Gifts which no horse can carry,
Alás! Alás! Alás!
Which no man can lift,
Alás! Alás! Alás!
Garments with threefold collars,
Turn them over three times and look at them,
Let them be a cover for the racer,
Alás! Alás! Alás!
Prince Yulgen full of gladness!
Alás! Alás! Alás!

When the kam has donned his shaman's dress, and carefully fumigated his tambourine, he sits down on a bench, and, striking his tambourine, summons many spirits, primary and secondary; on behalf of each he answers "Here am I, kam!" Towards the end of this invocation the shaman addresses himself to Merkyut, the bird of heaven:

"Celestial birds, the five Merkyuts! You with mighty brazen claws,
The claw of the moon is of copper,
And the beak of the moon is of ice;
Mighty is the flapping of the broad wings,
The long tail is like a fan,
The left wing hides the moon,
The right wing hides the sun;
Thou, mother of nine eagles,
Without straying thou fliest over Yaik,
Thou art not wearied over Edil.
Come to me with song!
Sporting, approach my right eye!
Sit on my right shoulder!"

The shaman imitates the cry of this bird, and says: "Kagak, kak kak! kam, here I am!" He then bows down his shoulders, as if crushed by the weight of a huge bird. As the number of the spirits assembled increases, the kam beats more loudly on the tambourine, which becomes so heavy that he staggers under it. After having collected such powerful protectors and helpers, the shaman walks several times round the birch placed in the yurta, then kneels in front of the door, and asks the porter spirit to grant him a guide. A favourable answer being given, he noisily comes out into the middle of the yurta, and sharply beats his tambourine; the upper part of his body is shaken with convulsive movements, and an unintelligible muttering is heard. Then, with a peculiar motion of his drum-stick, the shaman pretends to scrape from the back of the master of the house all that is unclean, and thus liberates the soul, which, according to the belief of the Altaians, is in the back, from the influence of the wicked Erlik. Then he embraces the host, the hostess, their children and kinsfolk, in such a way that the tambourine touches the breast of each, while the drum-stick is held behind their backs. The shaman thus, with the aid of all the spirits collected in the tambourine, purifies them from all ills and misfortunes that the hostile spirit could bring upon them. After this purification, the people return to their places, and the shaman drives all the potential misfortunes out of doors. Then he puts his tambourine close to the host's ear, and with blows on this sacred instrument drives into him the spirit and power of his forefathers, thus preparing him to receive and understand the succeeding prophecies of the shaman. Indicating in pantomime that he is investing the host, hostess and all the members of the family with breast-plates and hats, the kam passes into a state of ecstasy; he jumps, knocks against those who are present, and suddenly places himself on the first step cut out of the birch trunk, at the same time raising the tambourine, thumping it with all his might, and shouting "gok, gok!" All the shaman's movements indicate that he is rising to the sky. In a joyous ecstasy he runs round the fire and the birch, imitating the sound of thunder, and then with convulsions he runs up to a bench covered with a horse-cloth. This represents the soul of the pura, the sacrificial horse; the kam mounts it and cries:

"I have mounted one step,
Aikhai! aikhai!
I have attained one zone.
Shagarbata!
I have climbed to the top of the tapty (the birch steps),
Shagarbata!
I have risen to the full moon.
Shagarbata!"

The shaman passes through one zone of heaven after another, and orders the Bash-tutkan to hurry. In the third zone, the pura is tired out, and, to relieve it, the kam calls the goose, which he mounts. But this temporary relief is of no avail; the shaman, on

behalf of the Bash-tutkan, makes a long speech in a tearful tone, telling of his exhaustion, and that of his steed. In the third space of heaven there is a halt, and the shaman tells the audience of all he has seen and heard in that zone; here it is that information is given about approaching changes in the weather, impending sickness and epidemics, misfortunes that are to befall neighbours, sacrifices to be offered by the district. In foretelling rainy weather, for instance, the kam sings:

"Kara Shurlu with six staves,
Drips on the low ground,
Nothing with hoofs can protect itself,
Nothing with claws can uphold itself."

The kam may also make similar prophecies in other regions of the sky, at his discretion. After the Bash-tutkan is rested, the journey is continued; before each heaven, the shaman mounts on the next step of the birch tree. To give variety to the performance, various episodes are introduced: first the karakush, a black bird in the service of the kam, is treated to a pipe of tobacco, then the karakush chases the cuckoo; during this, the shaman coo-cooes, and imitates the report of the karakush's gun; in the third place, he waters the pura horse, and imitates the sound of a horse drinking. In the sixth sphere of heaven takes place the last episodical scene, and this has a comic tinge. The shaman sends his servant Kuruldak to track and catch a hare that has hidden itself. For a time the chase is unsuccessful, new personages are introduced, and one of them, Kereldei, mocks Kuruldak, who, however, at last succeeds in catching the hare. The fifth heaven is particularly interesting, for there the kam carries on a long conversation with the mighty Yayuchi (supreme creator), who reveals to him many secrets of the future. Some of these things the shaman communicates aloud, others he mutters rapidly.

In the sixth heaven he bends before the moon, who dwells there, and in the seventh, before the sun. In a similar manner the kam makes his way to the eighth, ninth heaven, &c. The more powerful the kam is, the higher he mounts in the celestial regions; there are some, but few, who can soar to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and even higher. When he has reached the summit of his power, the kam stops, drops his tambourine, and, gently beating with his

drum-stick, invokes Yulgen in a humble prayer:

"Lord to whom three ladders lead,
Bai-Yulgen, owner of three flocks,
The blue slope which has appeared,
The blue sky which shows itself,
The blue cloud which whirls along.
Inaccessible blue sky,
Inaccessible white sky,
Place a year's journey distant from water,
Father Yulgen thrice exalted,
Whom the edge of the moon's axe shuns,
Who uses the hoof of the horse.
Thou, Yulgen, hast created all men,

Who are stirring round about us,
Thou, Yulgen, hast endowed us with all cattle,
Let us not fall into sorrow!
Grant that we may resist the evil one!
Do not show us Kermes (the evil spirit that attends man)
Give us not over into his hands!
Thou who the starry sky
Thousands and thousands of times hast turned,
Condemn not my sins!"

From Yulgen the shaman learns whether the sacrifice is accepted or not, and receives the most authentic information concerning the weather, and the character of the coming harvest; he also finds out what sacrifices are expected by the deity. On such an occasion the shaman designates the neighbour who is bound to furnish a sacrifice, and even describes the colour and appearance of the animal; Mr. Radloff remarks that the kam is not wholly disinterested in these cases. After his conversation with Yulgen, the ecstasy of the shaman reaches its highest point, and he falls down completely exhausted. Then the Bash-tutkan goes up to him, and takes the tambourine and drum-stick out of his hands. The shaman is quite motionless and silent. After a short time, during which quiet reigns in the yurta, the shaman seems to awake, rubs his eyes, stretches himself, wrings out the perspiration from his shirt, and salutes all those present as if after a long absence.

Sometimes the festival ends with this great ceremony, but more frequently, especially among the wealthy, it lasts another day, which is spent in libations to the gods, and feasting, during which an enormous quantity of *kumys* and other strong drink is con-

sumed.1

The account, given above in an abridged form, of the journeyings and spirit-raising of an Altai shaman, is taken from Mr. Radloff's detailed description, and is the most exhaustive and complete picture we have of the fantasy of the Siberian shamanists, and is consequently of great value for the comparative ethnographical

study of our subject.

The tambourine and drum-stick.—The shaman, as mediator in dealings with the spirit world, must, during his functions, bear outward signs to distinguish him more or less from other people. The most important appurtenances of the profession are the tambourine and drum-stick, and the various parts of the shaman's dress. The tambourine is met with amongst almost all the Siberian tribes who have shamans; besides its power in calling up spirits, it has the miraculous power of carrying the shaman. Mr. Potanin dwells in detail on the shamans' tambourines among the Altaians, and compares them with the tambourines of the other Siberian peoples. All the tambourines seen by Mr. Potanin were circular; but, according to Mr. Yadrintsev, all those used among the Chernev Tatars are oval. The tambourine consists of a hoop or rim, of a palm in breadth, with skin stretched over it on one

¹ Radloff: "Aus Siberien," ii, 20-50.

side; on the concave side of the tambourine two vertical cross pieces of wood and one horizontal iron cross piece are fixed. wooden cross piece is called by the Altaians bar, but other tribes give it other names. The bar has the form of a spindle broadening at the upper end (the broad part is shaped like a human head), at the lower end it forms a fork, resembling legs. On the upper part, eyes, a nose, mouth and chin are marked. The iron cross-piece is called krish (bow-string) among the Altaians; it is an iron rod on which are iron rattles, called kungru in Altaian; the number of these rattles is greater or less according to the rank of the kam. Their number corresponds with that of the chalus, or spirits, subject to the shaman. Besides the kungrus, there are small sword-shaped trinkets fixed on the inner side of the tambourine, to the right and left of the head of the bar. On the outside of the hoop or rim are bosses about the size of a bean, and sometimes smaller. On the bow-string, under the beard of the bar, are fastened bands of narrow cloth, and these are called yalama. On the skin of the tambourine, sometimes on both sides, sometimes on the inner side only, are drawings in red paint. According to Mr. Yadrintsev's description, the tambourines of the Chernev and Kumandinsk Tatars differ from those of the Altaians; the vertical cross-piece has no representation of a human face, and is only a plain piece of wood. On the outer side of the tambourine of the Chernev Tatars there are drawings of animals and trees. A horizontal line separates it into two unequal parts; the upper part is the larger, and on it is figured a bow, the ends of which rest on the horizontal belt. Within the bow are two trees, and on each of them sits a karagush bird; to the left of the trees are two circles, one light, the sun, the other dark, the moon. Under the horizontal stripe are frogs, a lizard, and a snake; on the cross stripe and the bow are stars.2 A certain kam gave Mr. Klements some curious explanations of the pictures on a tambourine.

(A) Lower part of the tambourine.

(1) Bai-kazyn (painted in white), literally "the rich birch."

This is the name given to the birches at which the yearly sacrifices take place.

(2) Ulug-bai-kazyn (in white paint). Two trees that grow in Ilkhan's kingdom.

(3 and 4) Ak-baga (white frog), Kara-baga (black frog), servants of Ilkhan.

(5) Chahity-us, certain spirits with seven nests and seven feathers.

(6) Chzhity-kyz (seven maidens), who let loose seven diseases against man.

(7) Ulgere; he is invoked in case of diseases of the teeth and ears.

(8) Ot-imeze, signifying "mother of fire."

² Potanin, iv, 42-43.

Figs. b and c on p. 18, vol. ii of Radloff's "Aus Siberien."

(B) Upper part of the tambourine.

- (1) Solban-ir (translated by the kam as "dawn").
- (2) Kyun, the sun.
- (3) Ike-karagus, two black birds; they fly on errands from the shaman to the devils.
- (4) Aba-tyus (bear's tyus, whatever that may mean).
- (5) Sugyznym-karagat, the horses of Ilkhan.
- (6) Kyzyl-kikh-khan. He is invoked when men set out for the chase.

The remaining figures, painted with white colour, are the beasts chased by kyzyl-kikh-khan.

These pictorial representations on the tambourines have a peculiar interest for us; they are intimately connected with shamanist beliefs, and would throw light on the mysteries of shamanist necromancy, but, like all pictorial signs, these drawings need to be explained by persons intimately acquainted with the ideas and facts to which they refer. We have as yet but few materials of this kind, and must restrict ourselves to the vaguest conclusions, e.g., that the terrestrial and underground worlds are portrayed on the tambourine, separated by a horizontal band. Mr. Potanin notes such a division in the Ostyak tambourine of which he gives a drawing in his book.2 If we were in possession of more of these pictorial materials, and texts like that published by O. Verbitskii, light might be thrown on this important question, but so far, all explanations have been rather of the nature of guess-work. Among the Buryats, the tambourine has been almost supplanted by the bell, and Mr. Khangalov only saw a tambourine in the hands of one shaman, who was an inexperienced beginner. If we may judge from this specimen, the Buryat tambourine has the dimensions and shape of a sieve; horse-skin is stretched upon it, and fastened behind with small straps; there were no drawings on it, either inside or outside, but the surface was bespattered with some white substance. According to Khangalov, the tambourine among the Buryats has a symbolic meaning; it represents the horse which can convey the shaman whither he will. The Yakuts make their tambourines of a lengthened circular form, and cover them with cowhide. On the inner side are two iron cross-pieces, arranged crosswise, and forming a handle. The tambourine is hung with little bells and rattles; it serves the Yakut, like the Buryat shaman, as a horse on which he rides to the spirit realm.4

But it is not all shamans who attain the high honour of having a tambourine; frequently a long time passes during which the spirits will not allow this magic instrument to be made. Gmelin, for instance, says that many Buryat shamans are not permitted by

¹ Klements: "Nyeskolko obraztsov bubnov minusinskikh inorodtsev. Zap. Vos. Sib. Otd. I. G. O. P.," v, 2, 26.

² Potanin, iv, 680.

³ Agapitov and Khangalov, 4 t.

⁴ Pripuzov, 65.

the demons to have a tambourine, and during their kamlanie use two long sticks, striking them crosswise against each other.1 Perhaps it is to this cause that we must attribute the fact that Mr. Khangalov saw no tambourines among the Buryat shamans, excepting in one instance. With the decline of shamanism, the number of persons able to make this sacred instrument, duly observing all the unknown ceremonies necessary, becomes smaller; the process of kamlanie is simplified, and the will of the spirits is made the excuse. As regards the mallet with which the tambourine is beaten, it is sufficient to observe that this instrument is encased in skin of some sort, so that the sound may not be too sharp. Among the Altaians, for instance, the mallet is covered with the skin of a wild goat or a hare.2 Among certain tribes, e.g., Buryats, Soiots, Kumandintses, Yakuts, they use for divining and for summoning spirits, a peculiar musical instrument giving out a feeble, jarring sound.3 Despite all these, the tambourine continues

to occupy the first place among shamanist instruments.

Shamanist dress and horse-sticks.—The shamans put on a special dress only when they are engaged with the spirits; in private life they are not distinguished from other people by any outward signs. Shashkov considers the following list to comprise all those articles of dress which are common to all the Siberian tribes: 1. An outer caftan; some of them are made of cloth, others of beasts' skins. They are hung with various rattles, rings, and representations of mythical animals. 2. A mask; among the Samoyed tadibeis, its place is taken by a handkerchief with which the eyes are covered, so that the shaman may penetrate into the spiritworld by his inner sight. 3. A copper or iron breast-plate. 4. A hat, one of the chief attributes of the shaman.4 Gmelin describes the costume of a Tunguz shaman, and points out that, in addition to the ordinary shaman's dress, he also put on an apron hung with iron plates, bearing figures either sunk or in relief. His stockings were of leather, and trimmed with iron. He had no hat, for his old one had been burnt, and the deity will not give a new one. This shaman put on his dress over his shirt.5 The Yakut shamans adorn their fur coats with representations of a sun with holes in it, and a half moon, thus indicating the twilight that reigns in the spirit land. The coats are hung with monstrous beasts, fishes, and birds, as a sign that there are monsters in the spirit world. Behind hangs an iron chain, which, in the opinion of some, shows the strength and endurance of the shaman's power, while others think it is the steering gear for the journey to the spirit land. The iron plates serve as a protection against the blows of malevolent spirits. The tufts sewed on the fur coat signify feathers.6 The travellers of the eighteenth century

¹ Gmelin, iii, 26.

³ Agapitov and Khangalov, 43.

⁵ Gmelin, ii, 193.

² Potanin, iv. 48.

⁴ Shashkov, 86.

⁶ Pripuzov, 65. Mr. Pripuzov's de cription agrees in the main with that given by Mr. Shchukin in his "Poyezdka v Yakutsk," 1833, pp. 200-201.

VOL. XXIV.

paid great attention to the dress and accessories of the shamans. Pallas describes in detail the costume of a Buryat shamanka that he saw; she was accompanied by her husband and two Buryats, each with a magic tambourine. She held in her hands two sticks, ornamented at the upper end with a representation of a horse's head, and hung with small bells. From her shoulders there hung down her back to the ground about thirty snakes made of black and white fur, sewed together in such a way that the snakes looked as if they were formed of black and white rings. One of the snakes was divided into three at the end, it is therefore called lyuga, and is considered to be an indispensable ornament of every Buryat shamanka. Her hat was covered by an iron helmet, from which rose horns with three antlers, like the horns

of a deer.1

Gmelin visited the yurta of a much respected Buryat shamanka near Selenginsk. Her dress consisted of all the rags she could hang round her; most of the rags were more than a yard long and about 7 inches wide; almost every rag was adorned with embroidered images, and hung with silk strings and tassels. A box which stood in the yurta was full of clouts, flints and meteorites. All these things served for healing purposes; there was also a felt bag full of felt idols of various shapes.2 The shaman's costume, hanging in the yurta, was, she declared, incomplete. These scanty descriptions of former travellers must be compared with the scientific investigations of modern ethnographers. In the exhaustive work of MM. Agapitov and Khangalov there is a systematic account of an ancient costume of the Buryat shamans, which is hardly ever met with nowadays. 1. An indispensable part of a shaman's belongings was a fur cloak or orgoi, white for a white shaman who dealt with good spirits, and blue for a black shaman, The orgoi is made of silk or representative of evil spirits. cotton stuff, and does not differ in cut from an ordinary fur cloak; on it are sewed metallic figures of horses, birds, &c. Some cups, representations of a certain animal, and an idol in a rhombic frame, which have been found, may, according to Agapitov and Khangalov, with plausibility be considered as belonging to the number of such adornments. 2. The hat among the shamans of the present day is of lynx skin, with a tuft of ribbons on the top; a peaked cap is even worn sometimes, but the tuft is indispensable. After a fifth ablution the shaman receives an iron hat3; it has the form of a crown and consists of an iron hoop to which two half-hoops are fixed crosswise; on the top of one of them is fastened a small iron plate, with the two ends turned up to lock like two horns. Where the half hoops join the horizontal hoop there are fastened, in three places, three kholbokho, i.e., conical pendants, and at the back of the hoop is a chain of four links united by small rings; on the end of the chain hang objects resembling a spoon and an awl. 3. Horse-

¹ Pallas, iii, 181-182.

² Gmelin, ii, 11-13.

³ Fig. 3 in Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.

sticks are met with among all the Baikal Buryats; among those of Balagansk they do not exist. The shaman has two horse-sticks; they are made either of wood or iron. The iron sticks are acquired by the shaman, like the iron cap, only after the fifth ablution. The wooden sticks are prepared on the eve of the first dedication; they are cut out of a growing birch; an endeavour is made to perform the excision in such a way that the birch will not wither. If the tree from which the stick is taken dies, it is considered an ill omen for the shaman. A birch is selected from among those that grow in the wood set apart for the burial of the shamans. The top of the stick is decorated with a horse's head; at some distance from the lower end a horse's knee is cut out, and the bottom has the form of a hoof. Some bells are fastened to the horsesticks, and one of them is larger than the others. These sacred sticks are adorned with hollow kholboko cones, ribbons of four colours (blue, white, yellow, and red), skins of ermine, squirrel and skunk, and to make them still more like horses, small stirrups are hung on them. The iron sticks do not essentially differ from the wooden ones. The Olkhonsk Buryat shamans have also a suire, i.e., shrine. This is a box about 3 ft. 6 in. in length and 14 in. in height, to the top of the lid, having the form of a roof with a double slope. The box stands on legs about 28 in. high; it is decked with ribbons, bells and skins, and on one of the long sides are painted in red, or carved, representations of men, animals and other things.2 Usually, at the end, on the right side, is a picture of the sun, and on the left, the moon. The sun has the form of a wheel, and in the middle of the moon is a human figure grasping a tree. The central part of the plank is occupied by three human figures; one of them is a woman, the other two are men; these are the inferior deities to whom they offer libations of wine several times in the year. In a line with these are drawn two quivers, a case for a bow, a bow and a sword, and under each human figure is a horse. In the shire are kept the horse-sticks, tambourine, and various sacrificial instruments. Nil, Archbishop of Yaroslavl, mentions two other objects: abagaldei, a monstrous mask of leather, wood or metal, with a huge beard painted on it, and toli, a metallic mirror with figures of twelve animals; it is worn on the beast or neck, and is sometimes sewed on to the shaman's dress; at the present time these two objects are hardly ever used by Buryat shamans.3

From Mr. Potanin's investigations it would seem that the special dress of the kams has been better preserved among the Altaian tribes than among the other Siberian peoples, and he gives some very curious information about this costume. The shaman's dress consists of the skin of a wild goat or reindeer; the outside is almost covered with a multitude of twisted handkerchiefs of various sizes,

Fig. 2 in Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.
 Figs. 4 and 5, Pl. III, Agapitov and Khangalov.

³ Agapitov and Khangalov, 42-44.

which represent snakes; they are embroidered with cloths of several colours, and sometimes with brocade. Some of the handkerchiefs are not sewed to the dress by the end, but in such a way that the upper end remains free, and looks like the head of a snake. On this are sometimes sewed imitations of eyes; on the thicker rolls, this end is slit, so that the snake's jaws are open. The tails of the larger snakes are forked, and on each end hangs a tassel; sometimes three snakes have a head in common. Besides these twisted handkerchiefs, narrow straps of reindeer skin are sewed on to the dress in bunches of nine. It is said that rich kams have a thousand and seventy snakes or twisted handkerchiefs. The small twisted handkerchiefs are called manyak by the Altaians; this name is also applied to the whole dress. Besides the twisted handkerchiefs and straps, i.e., the manyaks, many other symbolic signs and rattles are fixed to the dress. Stirrup-shaped triangles of iron are often met with, on one of the corners of which iron trinkets are put, a small bow fitted with an arrow to frighten away evil spirits from the shaman during his kamlanie, and some kholbogos. On the back, two round copper plates are sewed; sometimes two others are sewed on the breast. Skins of small animals, such as ermine, striped squirrel and flying squirrel, are also sewed on with the manyales. In the case of one kam, Mr. Potanin noticed four tobacco-pouches sewed on; these were feigned to be full of tobacco, though they were empty; the kam gives away this tobacco to the spirits during his wanderings in their country. The collar is trimmed with a fringe of the feathers of the white owl or brown owl; one shaman had sewed to his collar seven small dolls, and on the head of each was a plume of brown owl's feathers; these dolls, the shaman said, were the celestial maidens. In some dresses, the manyaks do not cover the whole dress from the collar to the waist, but a shred of cloth of some particular colour, e.g., red, is sewed on, and to it are fastened round copper plates, kholbogos, and frequently little Russian bells; the wealthier kams have nine bells. The noise they make is asserted to be the voice of the seven maidens sewed to the collar, calling the spirit to come to them.

The hat of an Altaian shaman is a square or four-cornered piece of young reindeer's skin; the front is covered with cloth, or some other bright-coloured material. On one side are sewed two brass buttons, on the other are two button holes. Mr. Potanin saw a hat the upper edge of which was adorned with feathers from a golden eagle or brown owl, arranged in tufts; on the lower part was a fringe of cowrie shells hung on strips of skin. This piece of skin is laid with its lower edge on the brow; the sides are turned to the back of the head, and it is buttoned at the back, thus forming something like a European tall hat. If the strip of skin is narrow and stiff, the upper part of it sticks straight up, and the plume gives the head-dress the appearance of a diadem. Some Teleut shamans make their hats of brown owl's skin; the wings are left as ornaments, and sometimes the bird's head is left on too. It is not all shamans who have the right to wear the manyak and the brown owl hat;

during the ceremony of kamlanie the spirits reveal to their favourites that the time has come when they may prepare this professional dress. Among the Chernev Tatars, the shamans sometimes use a mask (kocho), made of birch bark and ornamented with squirrel tails to represent eyebrows and moustache. Among the same people Mr. Yadrintsev remarked the use of two crutches; one of them was considered to be a staff, the other a horse, like the horse-sticks of the Buryat shamans.

All the separate parts of the dress of Siberian shamans, and their other professional belongings, have a threefold significance, both separately and conjointly. The shamans, by the outward appearance of their costume, in consequence of its originality, endeavour to produce a strong impression on the spectators; the sound of the bells, metal trinkets, and rattles on the tambourine, and the sticks which are struck against each other, agitates the audience, and puts them into a peculiar state of mind. Finally, all the objects and ornaments belonging to the shaman have their definite meaning, sometimes even of a mystic character, intelligible only to

shamanists, and closely connected with their philosophy.

How the rank of shaman is attained.—It is not everyone who can become a shaman, and the position is bestowed, among the Siberian tribes, either by hereditary right or in consequence of a special predisposition manifesting itself in a boy or youth chosen by the spirits for their service. Among the Trans-Baikal Tunguses, he who wishes to become a shaman declares that such and such a dead shaman has appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to be his successor; in addition, everyone before becoming a shaman "shows himself to be crazy, stupefied and timorous." According to the stories of the Tunguses of Turukhansk, the man who is destined to become a sorcerer sees in a dream the devil "khargi" performing shamanist rites. It is at this time that the Tungus learns the secrets of his craft.

The Yakut shamans and shamankas do not receive the magic talent by inheritance, although there is a tradition that if a necromancer arises in a family the dignity is not transferred; they are preordained to serve the spirits whether they wish it or not. "Emekhet," the guardian spirit of the dead shaman, endeavours to enter into some one among the kinsfolk of the deceased. The person destined to shamanism begins by raging like a madman; suddenly he gabbles, falls into unconsciousness, runs about the woods, lives on the bark of trees, throws himself into fire and water, lays hold of weapons and injures himself, so that he has to be watched by his family; by these signs they know that he will be a shaman; they then summon an old shaman acquainted with the abodes of the aerial and subterranean spirits. He instructs his pupil in the various kinds of spirits, and the manner of summoning them. The consecration of a shaman among the Yakuts is accom-

¹ Potanin, iv, 49-54.

² "Sibirskii Vyestnik," 1822, 39-40.

panied by certain ceremonies; the old shaman leads his pupil on to a high hill or out into the open field, clothes him in shaman's dress, invests him with tambourine and drum-stick, places on his right nine chaste youths and on his left nine chaste maidens, then dons his own dress, and, standing behind the new shaman, causes him to repeat certain words. First of all he demands that the candidate should renounce God and all that he holds dear, promising that he will consecrate his whole life to the demon who will fulfil his prayers. Then the old shaman tells where the various demons dwell, what diseases each causes, and how he may be appeased. Finally the new shaman kills the animal destined for sacrifice, his dress is sprinkled with the blood, and the flesh is eaten by the throng of spectators.1 Among the Siberian Samoyeds and Ostyaks the shamans succeed to the post by inheritance from father to son. On the death of a shaman, his son who desires to have power over the spirits makes of wood an image of the dead man's hand, and by means of this symbol succeeds to his father's power.2 Among the Ostyaks, the father himself selects his successor, not according to seniority but fitness, and conveys to the chosen one all his science; the childless leave their profession to friends or pupils. destined to be shamans spend their youth in practices which irritate the nervous system and excite the imagination.3 Tretyakov describes the ordination of shamans among the Samoyeds and Ostyaks of the Turukhan district. According to his account, the candidate stands with his face to the west, the old shaman prays the dark spirit to aid the novice, and expresses the hope that the latter will not be left without an assistant spirit. Finally the instructor sings a sort of hymn to the spirit of darkness, and the new shaman has to repeat a prayer after him. The spirits try the beginner, they demand his wife, his son, and he ransoms them with sacrifices and promises to share the offerings with them.4

In the southern part of Siberia, among the Buryats, anybody may become a shaman, but the profession is generally only followed by those who belong to a shamanist family and have had ancestors, paternal or maternal, engaged in that occupation. Besides these, there are shamans specially chosen by the gods themselves; if anyone is killed by lightning, this is looked upon as a direct expression of the will of the gods, who thus indicate that the family has been selected by them; the deceased is considered to be a shaman and is buried as such; his nearest kinsman has a right to be a necromancer. Stones that fall from the sky may also give a Buryat shamanist power. It is said that a man once drank tarasun in which such a stone had been washed, and became a shaman in consequence. These fortuitous shamans are generally unfitted for this work, through lack of early training, and, owing to their

¹ Pripuzov, 64-65. V. S—kii: "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut Yakuty," "Sibirskii Sbornik," 1890, v. ii, 130.

² Tretyakov, 211.

⁴ Belyavskii, 113-114.

⁴ Tretyakov, 210-211.

ignorance, they are guided by old men, appointed for this purpose, who are experienced, and know the ceremonies and prayers. But usually the dead ancestors who were shamans choose from their living kinsfolk a boy who is to inherit their power. This child is marked by special signs: he is often thoughtful, fond of solitude, a seer of prophetic visions, subject occasionally to fits, during which he is unconscious. The Buryats believe that at such a time the boy's soul is with the spirits, who are teaching him, if he is to be a white shaman, with the western spirits, if he is to be a black shaman, among the eastern spirits. Dwelling in the palaces of the gods, the soul, under the guidance of the dead shamans, learns all the secrets of the shamanist craft; it remembers the names of the gods, their dwelling place, the forms used in their worship, and the names of the spirits subject to these great gods. After enduring trials, the soul returns to the body. Year by year the tendency of mind becomes more pronounced; the youth begins to have fits of ecstasy, dreams and swoons become more frequent; he sees spirits, leads a restless life, wanders about from village to village and tries to kam. In solitude he carries on shamanist exercises with energy, somewhere in a forest or on a hill-side by a blazing fire. invokes the gods in an unnatural voice, shamanizes, and frequently falls fainting. His friends follow him at a distance to see that no harm befalls him.

As long as the future mediator between gods and men is preparing for his new duties, his parents or kinsfolk appeal for help to a skilled shaman; they summon the gods and offer them sacrifices, praying that their kinsman may come safely through the ordeal. If the future shaman belongs to a poor family, the whole community helps to get animals for sacrifice and objects necessary for the rites. The preparatory period lasts some years; its length depends on the abilities of the youth. As a rule the candidate does not become a shaman before he is twenty years of age. Before entering upon his duties the candidate must go through a ceremony known as body-washing. One ablution does not suffice to give all the rights of the office; the operation must be repeated from three to nine times, but the majority are satisfied with one or two; indeed, there are some who omit the ceremony altogether, dreading the vast responsibility it brings, for the gods deal exceptionally severely with those who have undergone consecration, and sternly punish with death any serious mistake. The first ceremony of consecration is preceded by what is called the water purification. For this purpose an experienced shaman is selected, called the father-shaman, and nine young men, called his sons, are appointed his assistants. water for the ablution must be spring water; sometimes it is drawn from three springs. They set out for the water on the morning of the day when the ceremony is to take place; they take with them tarasun, and offer libations to the master and mistress spirits of the well. On the way back they tear up by the roots young birch trees, shoots sprouting from seeds, bind them up into brooms, and carry them to the yurta of the candidate. The water is warmed in a kettle on the hearth, and they throw into it juniper, wild thyme, and fir bark to purify it. Then they take a goat which is held in readiness, cut a little hair off its ears, a fragment from each hoof and born, and throw all this into the kettle. After this, the goat is killed in such a way that drops of its blood run into the water, which is then ready for the ceremony. The goat's flesh is given to the women, and they cook and eat it. The father-shaman first divines from the shoulder of a sheep, then he summons the shamanist predecessors of the candidate, and offers wine and tarasun as a sacrifice; after the sacrifice he dips the birch brooms in the water and beats the future soothsayer on the naked back; the sons of the shaman do likewise, at the same time saying, "When a poor man calls thee, ask little of him in return, and take what is given. Have a care for the poor, help them, and pray the gods to protect them against evil spirits and their power. If a rich man call thee, ride to him on a bullock, and do not ask much for thy services. If a rich man and a poor man both send for thee at the same time, go first to the poor and then to the rich." The new shaman promises to observe these precepts, and repeats the words of a prayer uttered by the father-shaman. When the ablution is finished they make a libation of tarasun to the guardian spirits, and this concludes the ceremony. The water purification is frequently performed subsequently by the shaman; it is compulsory once a year, but sometimes even monthly, at the new moon, and also on special occasions when the shaman feels himself defiled in any way, e.g., by contact with unclean things; when the defilement is very grievous the purification must be by blood. The shaman also purifies himself when any death takes place in the village. Some time after the ceremony of purification, the first dedication, called kherege-khulkhe, takes place, and large contributions are raised in the community to cover the expenses. A father-shaman and nine sons are again chosen, and the ceremony of dedication begins with a procession, on horseback, of the shaman, his guide, and the nine helpers, to their acquaintances, to collect offerings. In front of each yurta the riders stop, and cry out a summons to the inhabitants, who entertain them, and hang offerings in the form of kerchiefs and ribbons on a birch, which the candidate holds in his hands; they also give money sometimes. Then they purchase wooden cups, bells for the horse-sticks, and other objects, silk, wine, &c. On the eve of the ceremony they cut down in the forest the necessary quantity of thick birches. The young men cut the wood, under the direction of the old man. From a very strong and straight birch they carefully cut out two planks to make the horse-sticks. also hew down a fir tree. All this timber is taken from the wood where the inhabitants of the village are buried. To feed the spirit of the wood, they bring sheep's flesh and tarasun. At the same time they get ready the shaman's outfit, and the father-shaman and his colleagues from other places shamanize, and invoke the protecting gods. On the morning of the day on which the ceremony happens, the trees that have been brought in are put in the proper

First of all they lay in the yurta a great thick birch with its roots stuck in the right hand south-western corner, at the point where the earthen floor lies bare round the hearth; the top of the tree is thrust out through the smoke hole. This birch symbolically indicates the porter god who allows the shaman ingress into heaven; it is left there permanently, and serves as a distinctive mark of a shaman's abode. At the consecration, the remaining birches are placed outside the hut, in the place where the ceremony will be performed, in a certain order, beginning from the east: 1. A birch under which they place, on a piece of white felt, tarasun, &c.; to the tree are fastened red and yellow ribbons if the shaman is a black shaman, white and blue ribbons if he is a white shaman, and all four colours if he is going to serve both good and evil spirits; 2. A birch to which they attach a large bell, and the horse that is to be sacrificed; 3. A birch tree, of sufficient size, which the new shaman must climb; all these three birches are called sergé (pillars), and they are generally dug up by the roots; 4. Nine birches, in groups of three, bound round with a rope of white horse-hair, to which are fastened ribbons in a certain order, white, blue, red, yellow, and then the same colours again; on these birches are hung nine beasts' skins, and a tuyas of birch bark containing food; 5. Nine posts to which they fasten the animals for sacrifice; 6. Thick birches laid out in order; to these are afterwards tied the bones of the sacrifices, enveloped in straw. From the chief birch in the yurta to all the birches outside, two tapes are stretched, one red and one blue; this is a symbol of the shaman's road to the spirit land. To the north of the row of birches are placed nine great kettles, in which the meat of the sacrifice is cooked.

When all is ready, the newly consecrated shaman and the other participators in the ceremony deck themselves, and proceed to consecrate the shaman's instruments; it is then that the horsesticks are endued with life; they turn into living horses. From early morning the shamans collected in the yurta have been shamanizing, summoning the gods, and sprinkling tarasun. After the ceremony of aspersion, the old shaman summons the protecting deities, and the young shaman repeats after him the words of a prayer, at the same time he occasionally climbs up the birch to the roof of the yurta, and there loudly calls upon the gods. When the time for issuing forth from the yurta is come, four shamans take each a corner of the piece of felt, and sing and wail; at the entrance to the yurta, on the street, they kindle a fire, and throw wild thyme on it. The fire serves to purify everything that is carried through it. During the time spent in the yurta, human beings and inanimate objects undergo purification. The procession, in a certain order, goes to the place when the birch trees are arranged; in front walks the father-shaman; then comes the young shaman, followed by the nine sons, the kinsfolk and guests. The essential features of the consecration may be considered the

following:

(1) When the shaman anoints himself with the blood of the sacrificed kid, on the head, eyes and ears,

(2) When he is carried on the felt carpet, and

(3) When he climbs up the birch, and from the summit of the yurta calls upon the gods and his kinsmen, the dead shamans.

The ceremony concludes with various sacrifices and popular games. It will be seen, from the above description, that the consecration of a shaman is expensive, and accompanied by sacrificial rites which produce on the beholders a lasting impression, and give dignity to the profession in the eyes of the Buryats.

Among the tribes in the Altai, the ability to shamanize is inborn; instruction only gives a knowledge of the chants, prayers and external rites. The future kam begins to realize his destiny at an early age; he is subject to sickness, and often falls into a frenzy. In vain do many of the elect struggle against this innate tendency, knowing that the life of a shaman is not an enviable one, but this restraint brings greater suffering upon them; even the distant sounds of a tambourine make them shiver. Those who have the shamanist sickness endure physical torments; they have cramps in the arms and legs, until they are sent to a kam to be educated. The tendency is hereditary; a kam often has children predisposed to attacks of illness. If, in a family where there is no shaman, a boy or girl is subject to fits, the Altaians are persuaded that one of its ancestors was a shaman. A kam told Potanin that the shamanist passion was hereditary, like noble birth. If the kam's own son does not feel any inclination, some one of the nephews is sure to have the vocation. There are cases of men becoming shamans at their own wish, but these kams are much less powerful than those born to the profession.2

Thus all the preliminary development of the shaman, from his childhood to the time when he is consecrated to the profession of kum or shaman, is of such a nature as to augment his innate tendencies, and make him an abnormal man, unlike his fellows. The ceremony of consecration has a similar character; the shaman assumes an exceptional position, takes vows upon himself, becomes the property of spirits who, though subject to his summons, have

yet full power over him.

Cases in which necromancers are applied to.—To these soothsayers, skilled in all the secrets of the world of gods and spirits, the superstitious shamanist tribesmen, imbued with the gloomy ideas consequent upon their coarse animistic philosophy, address themselves in all the perplexities of life. All misfortunes, diseases, and death itself, are attributed by shamanists to the influence of external, supernatural causes, to remove which every effort is made. It is not to be wondered at that on the occasion of the great festivals connected with the sacrifices the shaman plays the chief part; he is then not so much a priest, a guardian of the ritual, as a

Agapitov and Khangalov, 44-52. Potanin, iv, 56-57.

necromancer acquainted with the sacrifices agreeable to the gods, and the means of appeasing them. This characteristic of the shamans is especially apparent from the custom existing among the Turukhan Samoyeds of organising an annual necromantic ceremony. At the beginning of winter, when the hunting season ends, diseases begin to prevail among the Samoyeds, and they decide in an assembly that it is time for the shamans to watch the road, for it will be bad if men begin to die. The shamans give their consent to the preparation of "a clean chyum" (i.e., yurta or hut), and every Samoyed helps to make ready the materials; they get poles, bring reindeer and black oxen for sacrifice; from the skins they make coverings for the chyum and clothes for the shamans. The chyum is built on the shore of a lake, and has the form of an elongated tent; on the top of it, at the southern end, they place, in an inclined position, a wooden statue representing a man or a reindeer. On the north side, the poles are fastened in such a way that they form something like a tail extended in the form of a fan; this tail is anointed with reindeer's blood. Many traditions are connected with this hut, and it is the scene of various ceremonies, the most essential of which is the senior shaman's entry into it. The young people busy themselves with games, songs, and dances, then they kill a reindeer, and the eldest ghostseer drinks its blood, and shamanizes in the presence of the other assembled necromancers and the older men. The ceremony concludes by the shamans kissing one another's hands.1

Doings of the shamans among the Koryaks and Gilyaks.—The above description of the construction of a clean chyum among the tribes of the Turukhan region exhibits a full view of the social duties of the shamans, and clearly indicates the great importance of these guardians of the Black Faith. Although in many cases the shamans act as priests, and take part in popular and family festivals, prayers and sacrifices, their chief importance is based on the performance of duties which distinguish them sharply from ordinary priests. The essential attributes of these gloomy mediators between men and the dark hostile powers of the spirit world will become apparent on reviewing the most important cases in which the chief tribes of Siberia have recourse to shamans. Koryaks, according to Krasheninnikov, look upon shamans as leeches, who by beating their tambourines drive away diseases, and declare what sacrifices must be offered to the spirits in order to cure the patient. Sometimes they order a dog to be slain, sometimes the laying of twigs, and other similar trifles, outside the yurta. The Gilyak shamans, also, busy themselves chiefly with healing the sick, by means of invocations, tambourine playing and whirling round; at times they cause the sufferer to leap through the fire, but they do not despise drugs prepared from plants, with the healing properties of which they are well acquainted. Besides their medical duties, the Gilyak shamans foretell the future, bring

¹ Tretyakov, 220-222.

down rain, and do other things connected with their secret science.¹ Though at the present time, according to our missionaries, paganism among the Gilyaks and Golds is beginning to yield to Christianity, nevertheless, christened as well as pagan natives are still unable to give up the use of shamans and their fantastic rites. Twenty-five years ago, shamanist ceremonies were in universal use among them, and no one could do without the shaman. At a birth or a death, when a Gold or Gilyak set out on his winter hunting expedition or when he went fishing, the shaman

was in every case indispensable.2

Shaman leeches among the Daurs and Manchzhurs.—Among the Manchzhurs and Daurs, on the banks of the Amur River, notwithstanding the extreme poverty of the people, their attachment to the shamans, as doctors, is remarkable. Although the Russian doctors charge nothing for attendance, and supply drugs almost free, the natives, in all diseases except fever, apply to the shamans, although their services cost a great deal. These native practitioners live at the cost of the family until the patient has recovered, and insist upon the sacrifice of a pig worth from twenty to twenty-five roubles. The shamans cure all diseases except fever. Each kamlanie lasts, with interruptions, from eight o'clock in the evening until dawn. During the intervals the shaman fortifies himself with tea and tobacco. At the end, there is a feast of the animals sacrificed. During the kamlanie itself, in order to nerve the shaman in his struggle with the demons, they give him khanshin.

Healing of diseases among the Yakuts.—In recent times, much interesting information has been collected concerning the Yakut sha-In a long article on the beliefs of the Yakuts, a writer in the" Sibirskii Sbornik," calling himself V.S-skii, describes in detail the shamanism existing among the natives. The shaman prescribes for all diseases, but especially Yakut maladies. The following diseases are looked upon as Yakut: obscure nervous complaints, such as hysteria, madness, convulsions, St. Vitus's dance, also barrenness, puerperal fever and other diseases of women, diseases of the internal organs, all kinds of abscesses, wounds, headaches, inflammation of the eyes, rheumatic fever, typhoid, inflammation of the lungs and larynx. There are some diseases that the shamans refuse to treat, e.g., diarrhoea, scarlatina, small pox, measles, syphilis, scrofula, and leprosy. They are especially afraid of small pox, and will not shamanise in a house where it has been. All diseases proceed from evil spirits who have settled in human beings, and their treatment is intended to drive out or win over the unwelcome guests. The simplest method is that of healing by fire. In the Kolymsk district, a lad had an injured finger, which was painful, and occasionally broke out into an abscess. It was decided that the wicked spirit Er had taken possession of the finger.

¹ Krasheninnikov, ii, 58-59. Deniker, 294, 306.

<sup>Pribavlenie k Irkutskim Eparkhialnym Vyedomostyam," 1887, 267.
Vostochnoe Obozrenie," 1890, 20, 9; 32, 6.</sup>

Desiring to drive it thence, the patient took burning coal and blew it round the abscess. When the burnt flesh burst with a crackling sound, the patient, with a smile of satisfaction, remarked to the spectators, "Did you see him jump out?" Other domestic remedies to relieve suffering are the clanging of iron, loud cries, &c. When simple treatment of this kind is of no avail, the Yakuts apply to the shaman; he acts as intercessor for the unfortunate, and mediator between men and spirits when they come into collision. The obligations he takes upon himself are not light, the struggle he enters upon is a dangerous one. The author of the article describes that part of the shamanist ritual which is invariable. The shaman called in to visit a patient takes the post of honour, in the corner opposite the fire on the right hand wall, when one is looking towards the chimney hole and the door. Stretching himself out on his white mare's skin, the leech lies waiting for night, and the hour when he may begin his sorcery. All this time he is treated with deference, and supplied with food and drink. At length, when the sun has set, and the hut begins to be dark, hasty preparations are made: they chop wood, make faggots, and cook an exceptionally abundant and choice supper. Gradually the neighbours arrive, and take their places on the benches along the walls, the men on the right side, the women on the left. Conversation is carried on in a very sober manner, the movements of the visitors are slow and gentle. all are at supper, the shaman sits up on the edge of his pallet, slowly unplaits his hair, in the meantime muttering something, and occasionally giving various orders Sometimes he nervously hiccoughs, artificially, and then his whole body trembles in a strange way. The sorcerer's eyes do not look about; they are either cast down or fixed motionless on one point, generally on the fire. The fire gradually becomes dull, thick darkness fills the hut, the door is shut, and there is almost complete silence. The shaman slowly takes off his shirt and puts on his wizard's coat, then, taking a lighted tobacco pipe, he smokes for a long time, and swallows the smoke. The hiccoughs become louder, the trembling more alarm-When the shaman has finished smoking, his face is pale, his ing. head has fallen far forward, and his eyes are half shut. In the meantime, the white mare's skin has been laid in the middle of the hut. The shaman takes a jar of cold water, drinks a few large gulps, and, with a slow sleepy motion, seeks on the bench the whip, twig or dram-stick prepared for him. Then he goes out into the middle of the hut and, bending his right knee four times, makes a solemn bow to the four sides of the universe; at the same time he spurts water from his mouth, all round. A tuft of white horse hair is thrown into the fire, which is then put out. By the faint glimmer of the smouldering coals, one can still see in the darkness, for a short time, the motionless figure of the shaman sitting with downcast head, holding in front of his breast, like a shield, a large tambourine. His face is turned to the south. All the people who are sitting on the benches hold their breath, and nothing is heard in the darkness save the indistinct muttering and hiccoughs of the

wizard. At last these sounds also cease; for a moment complete silence reigns. Soon after, there is heard a single yawn, sharp and metallic in sound, and then, in some part of the dark hut, a falcon cries loudly and clearly, or a sea-mew utters a piteous wail. After another interval, the tambourine begins to make a slight rolling noise, like the buzzing of mosquitoes: the shaman has begun his music. At first it is tender, soft, vague, then nervous and irregular like the noise of an approaching storm; it becomes louder and more decided. Now and then it is broken by wild cries; ravens croak, grebes laugh, sea-mews wail, snipes whistle, falcons and eagles scream. The music becomes louder, the strokes on the tambourine become confused in one continuous rumble; the bells, rattles and small tabors sound ceaselessly. It is a deluge of sounds capable of driving away the wits of the audience. Suddenly everything stops; one or two powerful blows on the tambourine, and then it falls on the shaman's lap. Silence at once reigns. This process is repeated, with slight variations, several times. When the shaman has worked up his audience to a sufficient pitch, the rhythm of the music is changed, and it is accompanied by broken phrases of song, gloomy in tone:

(1) Powerful bull of the earth! . . Steed of the steppe! . .

(2) I am the powerful bull . . . I roar! .

(3) I neigh . . . steed of the steppe! . (4) I am a man placed above all!

(5) I am a man gifted above all!

- (6) I am a man created by the lord powerful among the mighty! . .
- (7) Steed of the steppe, appear! . . Teach me! . .(8) Magic bull of the earth appear! . . Speak! . .

- (9) Mighty lord, command me! . . (10) May everyone with whom I go, hear with the ear! . . Let no one follow me to whom I say not—come!
- (11) Henceforth, come no nearer than is allowed, let everyone look with a keen eye! . . Let him be quick to hear! . . Have a care of yourselves!

(12) Look to it well! . . Be all such, all together . all, as many as there are of you!

(13) Thou on the left hand, lady with the staff, if it happen that I wander, or take not the right road, I pray thee direct me! . . Get ready! .

(14) Show me my mistakes and show me the road, my mother! Fly with a free flight! . . Clear my broad path! . .

(15) Spirits of the sun, mothers of the sun, dwelling in the south, in the nine woody knolls, you who will envy . . . I pray you all . . . let them stand . . . let your three shadows stand high!

(16) In the east, on his mountain, is the lord my grandsire, mighty in strength, thick of neck—be with me! .

(17) And thou greybeard, most worthy of wonder-workers (the

fire) I pray thee: approve all my thoughts without exception, grant all my wishes . . . hearken! . . Fulfil! . . All, all fulfil! . .

The ritual used by the Yakut shamans is always the same. There are two forms of it-one longer and one abridged. It is the latter that we have given. The remainder of the ceremony is an improvisation adapted to certain cases and certain persons. When the shaman, by his singing, has brought down upon himself his guardian spirit, he begins to skip and move about on his skin mat, thus beginning the second part of his dramatic performance. The fire has been made up again, and its bright gleam illumines the hut, which is now full of noise and movement. The wizard ceaselessly dances, sings and beats his tambourine; first turning to the south, then to the west and east, he madly jumps and contorts himself. The time and step of his dance somewhat resemble the Russian trepàk, but it is faster, and lacking in boldness. Finally the shaman has learnt all he needs to know; he has discovered who caused the illness, and has assured himself of the support of the powerful spirits. Then begins the third part of the performance. Whirling, dancing, and beating the tambourine, the shaman approaches the patient. With fresh invocations he expels the cause of the disease, frightening it out, or sucking it out of the diseased place with his mouth. When the disease has been driven out, the shaman takes it into the middle of the hut, and, after many invocations, spits t out, drives it from the hut, kicks it away or blows it from the palm of his hand far up into the sky or under the earth. But it is not sufficient to drive out the disease: it is indispensable to appease the gods who have relieved the sufferer, and the shaman decides what sacrifice must be offered to the mighty spirits of heaven. At the termination of the ceremony, the shaman sits down again on his mare's skin, and sings and plays, the spectators lift him and his mat back to the place of honour which he occupied at the beginning 1

Divination and propitatory invocations of the Yakut oyuns.—Side by side with the healing of diseases is divination, with its various ceremonies. Gmelin refers to prophecy among the Yakuts, accompanied by the following methods: the shaman takes a ring or a coin, and holds it in the midst of the palm of the enquirer, moving it about in various directions as if examining it, and then foretells the future. In an article in the "Sibirskii Sbornik," we are told that the Yakut shamans accompany the foretelling of the future with dramatic performances like those used in healing the sick. These necromancers are called in in all cases when it is desired to win success or avert misfortune. Mr. Vitashevskii tells how a

^{1 &}quot;Sibirskii Sbornik." "Prilozhenie k Vostochnomu Obozreniyu," 1890, v. ii. "Kak i vo chto vyeruyut yakuty (Etnograficheskii nabrosok)." V. S—kago, 141-153.

<sup>Gmelin, ii, 364-365.
"Sibirskii Sbornik," 159.</sup>

young Yakut, Siancha, on a visit to his father-in-law, who lived a verst and a half from the author, invited a shaman to offer a sacrifice, and invoke a blessing from the guardian spirit of huntsmen and fishermen. The Yakuts represent this spirit as a beast the size of a big year old calf, with hoofs like a cow, a dog's head, small eyes, and long hanging ears. The performance at which Mr. Vitashevskii was present took place on the night of the 8-9th February, 1890. It was extremely dramatic, and the author of the article gives a careful and detailed account of it. In many points, Mr. Vitashevskii's description is of great interest for comparative ethnography, and presents quite a unique phase of shamanist ritual. As a preliminary, an image of the spirit of hunting and fishing was made. It was simply a log of wood 3 in. thick and rather less than 28 in. long. On this log a rough drawing of a human face was made with a piece of coal. Besides this, the so-called "pillow" was made from a saddle, formed of two thick willows and twenty willow twigs. Both objects were taken to the door, and placed in such a way that the face of the image looked inwards. The performance began in the following way: three young fellows stood with the shaman, each holding in his right hand three lighted faggots. The shaman fumigated with the smoke of his faggots the three young men who stood facing the fire. Then all four threw down their faggots at random, and the young men mixed with the crowd. The shaman sat down on a stool facing the door, and, holding an arrow in his right hand, pronounced the following words. First of all he addressed Baryllakh, the spirit of the chase. We only give the beginning of the address:

"Baryllakh of my rich forest;
My lord grandsire,
Now—then!
Smile! . . . " &c.

The shaman then, in the name of the spirit, asked the young Yakut, who was going to hunt, what he was called, and receiving the answer, "They call me Sencha," the shaman pronounced some untranslated Mongol words and went outside, saying that Baryllakh

himself would knock directly.

In a short time there was a knock outside, and by the open door entered the shaman, who was triumphantly met by the spectators. He acted the part of spirit of the chase, laughed, smirked, and, sitting down on the ground, to the right of the chimney, said, "Give me my darling, my friend!" Then they gave the shaman the image of Baryllakh and the pillow which had been made from the saddle. He smelt both all over, and caressed them; then he ordered them to be placed against the post which is in the perednii ugol (place of honour) under the ikons. On the pillow they placed a cup of salamata (hasty pudding), and threw butter in the middle of the fire. In the morning, the master of the house where the performance took place ate up the salamata. The image of Baryllakh, and the saddle pillow, were taken away into the woods. Thus ended the shaman's sorcery. It is to be noted that the Yakuts

represent Baryllakh as always giggling, and fond of laughter. When huntsmen have killed an elk, they go up to the beast laughing, in order to win the favour of the spirit.

Mr. Vitashevskii has given another detailed account of a shamanist ceremony, organised, to appease the spirits, by a converted Yakut who wished to ameliorate his disordered affairs. The same shaman, one Simen, officiated.1 In this, as in the preceding case, one can see, in a coarse form, the simple beginnings of those dramatic tendencies which among highly cultured peoples have reached such an extensive development, and have become one of the highest phases of literature. The shaman, in presence of his uncritical fellow-countrymen, gives the reins to his fancy, and tries by an original mise-en-scène to make an impression on the visual faculty; he brings up spirits, mingles the comic with the tragic element, and, with an art surprising in a semi-savage, enchains the minds of his audience. Even the Russians who have inhabited the country for a long time are often attracted by these shamanist shows.

Methods of healing among the Tunguses.—Among the Tunguses, both pagan and Christian, the shaman, according to Shchukin, is not a priest, but a wizard who heals and divines.2 For the cure of the sick they apply to shamans, who, by inspecting the blood and livers of slain birds or other animals, diagnose the disease. declare the means by which the gods may be appeased. direction of these necromancers new idols are made, and sacrifices are offered. The sacrifice takes place inside the yurta, in the evening. The shaman takes the patient's head between his hands, sucks his brow, spits in his face, and fixedly looks at the affected part.3

And Ostyaks.—The Ostyaks, by command of the shaman, bring into the yurta of the sick person several reindeer; to the leg of one deer they fasten one end of a rope, the other end is held by the patient, and when the latter pulls the rope they kill the deer. The head and horns are laid on the floor, the flesh is eaten, and the sick man is anointed with the fat.4 In order to extract the devil, the Ostvak shaman takes hold of the diseased part with his teeth, and in a few minutes draws from his mouth a piece of the entrails of some beast, a small worm, or simply a hair. All these objects are considered to be embodiments of a disease.⁵

Leechcraft among the Kirghizes.—The Kirghiz shaman, like his colleagues in other tribes, adopts various methods to represent in a dramatic form his struggle with the spirits that possess the sick. Sitting down opposite the patient, he plays on the balalaika (threestringed guitar), cries, sings, grimaces, then he runs about the

V. Vitashevskii: "Materialy dlya izucheniya shamanstva u Yakutov, Zup.
 V. S. O. R. G. O. po etnografii," ii, v. 2¹, 37-48.
 "Poyezdka v Yakutsk." Izd. N. Shch., 91.

³ Chashkov, 99-100.

Shashkov, 98-99. ⁵ Tretyakov, 218.

VOL. XXIV.

gurta and out into the open air, where he mounts the first horse he can find, and gallops about on the steppe, chasing the spirit that torments the sick man. On his return, the shaman beats the patient with a whip, bites him till the blood flows, waves a knife over him, spits in his eyes, hoping by such radical means to drive out the spirit. These performances are repeated for nine

Among the Teleuts.—On the shores of Lake Teletsk, Helmersen witnessed the healing of one of his Teleut companions. natives believed that evil spirits had entered his body, and were causing his pain and dismay. The kam Jenika undertook the cure. He began by tying some twigs together, put a red hot coal on the bundle, and waved it over the patient, meantime muttering some incoherent words. The sounds he made gradually became louder and more guttural, and finally broke into a wild song, accompanied by a swaying motion of the body. From time to time the chant was broken by loud deep sighs. The exorcism went on increasing in energy for a quarter of an hour; then Jenika placed the bundle of twigs by the sick man, sat down, and quietly smoked a pipe. The result of the treatment was that the patient was cured. the Altai Mountains, nightmare is attributed to the spirit Aza. To drive it away, a kam is summoned, who conjures in the yurta before a willow twig with five colours bound to it (i.e., rags or ribbons of five colours).3

And Vogul Manzes.—On the borders of Siberia and European Russia, among the Vogul Manzes, the medical functions of the shamans consist of invocation of the gods, whispered charms, and the use of certain therapeutics. In all cases they enquire of the gods the cause of the illness. The gods receive sacrifices of reindeer, garments, and hides, then the patient drinks charmed water, vodka, and blood; he is anointed with blubber, reindeer fat, and still more frequently bear's grease, he is fumigated with castoreum and the sediment of boiled larch or birch, and rubbed with a bear's tooth. Frequently the same remedy is used for different

diseases.4

The duties and functions of Mongol and Buryat shamans.—The Buryats, by their social life and education, stand on a higher level than the other Siberian peoples. Among them, shamanism must have undergone a greater degree of elaboration, and, thanks to certain Buryat scholars, we are in a position to give a detailed account of Buryat shamanism, notwithstanding the fact that the Yellow Faith of the Buddhist lamas is rapidly driving out the old Black Faith.

Dorji Banzarov examines the duties of the Mongol shamans in general, and the Buryat shamans in particular, under three heads:

1 Shashkov, 99.

² Helmersen: "Reise nach den Altai (Baehr u. Helmersen Beiträge)" B. xiv, 71.

3 Potanin, iv, 130.

⁴ Gondatti: "Slyedy yazycheskikh vyerovanii u Manzov," 54.

as priest, physician, and wizard, or diviner. As priest, the shaman, knowing the will of the gods, decides what they want from men, and he performs sacrifices as an expert in ritual and prayers. Besides the ordinary general sacrifices, the shamans performed private sacrifices, of which, in Banzarov's opinion, the following were the most important: 1. On beginning any enterprise; 2. For the healing of disease; 3. To prevent murrain, the attacks of wolves on cattle, and, in general, any pecuniary loss; 4. A libation to the sky, on the occasion of a thunderstorm, especially the first thunder in spring. As physician, the shaman has a definite method of expelling the spirit from the patient's body, at the same time he performs tricks, and acts like a madman. The gift of prophecy makes him very powerful. He either prophesies simply, or by means of divination. Divination is by the shoulder bone, and by the flight of arrows. While agreeing with the learned Buryat in many points, we must take exception to his view of the part played by the shamans as priests, which in Banzarov's classification of their duties occupies so prominent a place. More than once, we have pointed out that the priestly function of the shamans is of secondary importance, while the essence of shamanism is in sorcery, which is especially apparent in the curing of diseases and in divination. The majority of cases of sacrifice, of a so-called accidental character, mentioned by Mr. Banzarov, arise precisely from this fundamental source of shamanism. The Buryats chiefly apply to shamans and shamankas in two cases: when a member of a family falls sick, or when a horse is lost.2 According to Mr. Sidorov, every shamanist ceremony due to disease or theft begins with divination by the shoulder bone of a sheep or a goat. The Buryats have a tradition about this shoulder bone. A written law was given by God to the chief tribal ancestor of the Buryats; on his way home to his own people he fell asleep under a haystack. A ewe came to the stack and ate up the law with the hay; but the law became engraved on the ewe's shoulder blade.3

In the Alarsk department of the government of Irkutsk, according to the priest Eremyeev, there is a superstition which does not exist in other districts. If anyone's child becomes dangerously ill, the Buryats of that region believe that the crown of his head is being sucked by Anokhoi, a small beast in the form of a mole or cat, with one eye in its brow. No one except the shaman can see this beast and free the sufferer from it.4 Shamans called in to visit patients, especially children, are called by the Buryats, Naizhis. If the patient recovers, he rewards the shaman, and calls him his naizhi. If anyone has sick children, or if his children die, any new born infants, or young sick children are visited by the shaman,

Banzarov: "Chernaya vyera," 107-115.

² "Mongoly Buryaty v Nerchinskom Okrugye Irkutskoi gubernii." Zh. M. Vn. D., 1843, ch. iii, 85.

³ Sidorov: "Shaman i obryady shamanskoi vyery." Irkutskiya Eparkh. Vyed., 1873g, 465.

Shamanstvo Irkutskikh Buryat." Irk. Eparkh. Vyed., 1875g, 21, 300.

who, in order to preserve them from unclean spirits, makes a special amulet, called khakhyukhan. If the infant lives or recovers, as the case may be, the shaman is called naizhi, and rewarded for his trouble. If the child dies, the khakhyukhan is returned to the shaman, and the title of naizhi ceases to be applied to him. The duty of the naizhi is to protect the child, with the aid of the zayans, from evil spirits, and grant it his powerful protection. There are not naizhis in every family, and the Buryats only apply to such shamans in extreme cases. The naizhis are changed at the wish of the parents. It sometimes happens that one family has several guardian shamans. If the child grows up, he shows special respect to his naizhi.

(To be continued.)

"Religion in Japan: Shintoism—Buddhism—Christianity." By G. A. Cobbold. Illustrated. pp. 113. (S.P.C.K.) 1894. 8vo. The volume gives a good account of religion at the present time in Japan.

"The Asiatic Origin of the Oceanic Languages;" an etymological dictionary of the language of Efate (New Hebrides). By Rev. D. Macdonald. (Melville, 1894.) pp. 212, 8vo. "This work gives in the first place, a dictionary of the language of Efate, New Hebrides, as accurate as I can make it after upwards of twenty-one years' constant study and use of the language in the performance of my duty as a missionary stationed on the island of Efatese words are given in a considerable number of instances; the cognate words in other languages of the Oceanic family are usually put within brackets, and are chosen purposely from its four great branches—the Papuan (or 'Melanesian'), the Maori-Hawaiian (or 'Polynesian'), the Malayan, and the Malagasy (or 'Tagalan')."

"A Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya." By N. B. Dennys. (London and China Telegraph Office, 1894.) pp. 423. 8vo. "The volume contains about three thousand headings. The Straits Settlements and protected native states are treated of at considerable length, while notices, more or less brief, are given of every town, village, &c., appearing in published maps, as also of many others hitherto undescribed. The various aboriginal tribes, the products of the jungle, native manners and customs, the

 $^{^1}$ Khangalov: "Predaniya i povyeriya Unginskikh Buryat, Zap, V. S. O. I. R. G. O. P.," v. $2^{\rm i},\,24\text{--}25.$

natural history of the Peninsula, and many other subjects of interest, are described or explained."

"The Russian Peasantry, their agrarian condition, social life, and religion." By Stepniak. (Swan Sonnenschein, 1894.) pp. 651. 8vo. "Russian peasants are passing through an actual crisis-economical, social, and religious-and the future of our country depends upon its solution. In the book we now have the honour to lay before the English reader we have tried to show as briefly and as fully as possible the main features and the bearings of this double process of growth and decay, now to be observed within our rural classes. The task we set ourselves was to choose from among the rich materials scattered throughout our literature for the last score of years, and to arrange the various separate pieces into one general picture . . . Most of what is described in these volumes refers to the bulk of the Russian peasantry; but in dealing with the political views and social habits of our rural classes, and the changes they have undergone since their emancipation, we have had the Great Russian peasants chiefly in view. It is they who have shaped Russian history in the past, and who will certainly play the leading part in her future."

"Thoughts and reflections on Modern Society," with an introduction on the gradual social evolution of primitive man. By A. Featherman. (Kegan Paul, 1894.) pp. 352. 8vo. The volume deals with tropical primeval man, tribal communities, extratropical primitive man, the rein-deer epoch, epoch of tamed animals, the age of metals, the fundamental agencies of modern social development. The subject matter is arranged in a large number of short articles under the general headings of social sketches, intellectual manifestations, moral characteristics, industrial economy, political organisation, and religious spiritualism.

"An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India." By W. Crooke. (Govt. Press: Allahabad, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 420. This important work is divided into the following sections:—The godlings of nature; the heroic and village godlings; the godlings of disease; the worship of the sainted dead; the worship of the malevolent dead; the evil eye and the scaring of ghosts; tree and serpent worship; totemism and fetishism: animal worship; the black art; some rural festivals and ceremonies; Bibliography; Index.

"List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archæological Interest in British Burma." (Govt. Press, Rangoon, 1892.) pp. 45.

"Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language." By Rev. J. M. Haswell. (Rangoon: American Missionary Press, 1874.)

"Man hunting in the Desert;" being a narrative of the Palmer search expedition (1882, 1883). By A. E. Haynes, Capt. R.E. (Horace Cox, 1894.) 8vo. pp. 305. The volume gives an account of the Egyptian Question in the summer of 1882, and Palmer's mission in the desert. The tracking and capture of the murderers is minutely described, together with their trial and sentences. The topography of the district, and especially of Mount Sinai, is carefully discussed, as well as the marches of the Israelites as described in the Old Testament. The volume is fully illustrated and has excellent maps.

"Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the late Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte." By Victor Collins. Henry Sotheran and Co., 140, Strand, and 37, Piccadilly. (Small 4to.

1718 pp., 13,699 entries. Price one guinea.)

Although this is really a large and laborious work, yet those who look at it will not feel surprised that the author should claim for it orly to be an attempt, for a library that requires nearly 14,000 entries, and that includes specimens of hundreds of languages and dialects, may tax the capabilities of more than one scholar. Mr. Victor Collins has felt the responsibility, and has succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of many competent friends. This was particularly requisite for Basque, a subject to which that distinguished man of science, the Prince, had devoted so many years, and had accumulated so much rare material with labour and expense. The catalogue will therefore become a valuable book of reference to scholars who can no longer consult the library or profit by the personal knowledge and advice of its late illustrious owner. tested very many of the entries and find them full and satisfactory. It is difficult even to enumerate the contents, for Prince Lucien went beyond the limits of ordinary languages, and collected matter for wide and minute knowledge of European dialects of many classes. To our own dialects he devoted original research. Then there are whole libraries of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese dialects. Mr. Collins has called in special assistance for Celtic.—(H. C.)

"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy." Vol. iii, No. 2. On some caves in the Slieve na Cailliagh District, co. Meath, by E. C. Rotheram. Illustrated. Studies in Irish craniology; Inishbofin, co. Galway, by A. C. Haddon. The Ethnography of Inishbofin and Inishark, co. Galway, by C. R. Browne. On an Ogham Monument recently found in co. Kerry, by Right Rev. Dr. Graves.

"The American Anthropologist." Vol. vii, No. 1. Songs of the Modoc Indians, by A. S. Gatschet. Ou certain personages who appear in a Tusayan Ceremony, by J. W. Fewkes. Suicide

among primitive peoples, by S. R. Steinmetz. Era of the formation of the historic league of the Iroquois, by J. N. B. Hewitt. Words expressive of cries and noises in the Kootenay language, by A. F. Chamberlain. Carribean influence in the prehistoric art of Southern States, by W. H. Holmes. Primitive copper working, by F. H. Cushing.

"Transactions of the Canadian Institute." Vol. iv, Part 1. Notes, archæological, industrial, and sociological on the Western Dénés, by A. G. Morice.

"The American Antiquarian." Vol. xvi. No. 3. Panel in the temple at Halabede, India; representing Ganapatti, the elephant-headed God. Migrations of the Algonkins, by C. S. Wake. The salmon wife—A Kwakintl legend, by G. C. Teall. Culture heroes and deified kings, by S. D. Peet. An obstetrical conjuration, by D. G. Brinton.

"Revue Mensuelle de l'école d'Anthropologie de Paris" Vol. xv. May. Anthropological Geography de l'Europe. The family among the first inhabitants of North Africa.

"Annales de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles." Vol. viii, Part 2. The megalith of Ville-sur-Haine. Illustrated.

"L'Anthropologie." Vol. v, No. 2. Notes towards a history of primitive art. By E. Piette. The Hamites of Eastern Africa. By M. Delafosse. The age of the lacustrine stations in Switzerland. By E. Vouca.

"Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles."
Vol. xi. Primitive astrology, by M. Goblet d'Alviella. The neolithic stations of Verrewinckel and Rhode-Saint-Genèse, by M. Cument. Vol. xii. The metal age in Belgium, by M. Comhaire. Pre- and Proto-historic map of Belgium, by M. Comhaire. On a recent memoir by Dr. De Man on the ethnology of Zealand, by M. V. Jacques. The ethnic origin of the Jews, by M. V. Jacques.

"Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris." Vol. iv, No. 11. Stone cross with inscriptions at Carnac, by M. Vauville. The prehistoric period in the departments of the Gard and the Ardeche, by M. Raymond. Carved figures on the megalithic monuments in the neighbourhood of Paris, by M. de Mortillet. No. 12. Memoir on the normal variations and anomalies in the nasal bones in human beings, by M. Manouvrier. Neolithic station at Carcaux, near Fouras (Charente Inferieure), by M. Zaborowski. The natives of Lifou (Loyalty Islands), by M. Deniker. Family rights of property in Annam, by M. Denjoy.

"Memoirs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris." Vol. i, No. 3. The anthropology of France, Dordogne, by Dr. R. Collignon.

"L'Anthropologie." Vol. v. No. 3. Anthropology at the "Jardin des Plantes," by M. Hamy. The Basque race, by R. Collignon. Sculpture in Europe before the Graeco-Roman influence, by S. Reinach.